

The Congregational Quarterly

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The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

It was with relief and thanksgiving that the British public read the text of the Note to France and Belgium. "Benevolent neutrality" by no means represented the attitude of our people to French action in the Ruhr, and it was an open secret that the Government believed it to be both illegal and unwise. That such a view should have been publicly expressed is an advantage in every way. The British people have no wish to quarrel with an Ally, but they have a passionate desire to secure the peace of the world, and they believe that the French are jeopardizing that peace for a generation. There is no disposition to let Germany off, but there is the conviction that the present methods destroy all hopes of securing reparations. Some have the fear that the Germans are in various ways manipulating the situation so as to escape payment, but the condition of things is far too serious for that. Journals like the *Spectator*, which are not likely to be suspected of tenderness to the Germans, have described the sufferings of the masses of the German population in the Ruhr, and every additional day of the occupation adds to the legacy of hate.

We trust that Mr. Baldwin will not recede from his position, but will move forward from it. He has at the moment the support of all parties, and he should not be disturbed by the clamour of the "Die-hards" and the *Daily Mail*. We do not care how quiet and unassuming he is, so long as he has convictions and gives a lead; the world has suffered much in the last decade from politicians of the type of Mucianus, who, in Tacitus's phrase, "had the showman's knack of drawing attention to everything he said or did."

By the time these notes are read it is to be hoped that the skies will have lightened, for at the present (August 28th) the outlook is as depressing as possible.

* * *

It is unhappily beginning to look as if the cynics were right about the Washington Conference when they told us that the reductions in armaments simply meant that Governments had decided that certain forms of armament were obsolete, and were about to trust to others, which were, of course, to be used for defence only. Now

the race for the control of the air has begun. Apparently the powers that be have learnt nothing and do not see that "If you want peace, prepare for war" is proved futile and false by ten million dead. They are like the people described by Alfred Noyes :

Their dens are always ankle-deep
With twisted knives, and in their sleep
They often cut themselves. They say
That if you wish to live in peace,
The surest way is not to cease
Collecting knives ; and never a day
Can pass unless they buy a few ;
And as their enemies buy them, too,
They all avert the impending fray,
And starve their children and their wives
To buy the necessary knives.

What have the people to say ? And the Churches ? The difficulty, of course, is to know exactly what one can *do*. We hope articles addressing themselves specially to this subject will appear in our pages next year. Meanwhile the appearance of Professor Gilbert Murray's article will remind our readers that they and their Churches can be, and ought to be, members of the League of Nations Union.

* * *

CONGREGATIONALISM has recently held its gatherings in cities and towns closely associated with its history. Doncaster and Southampton both had their connexion with the Pilgrim Fathers. Northampton is for ever linked with Philip Doddridge, and Kidderminster and Bedford, chosen for our Council Meetings in 1923 and 1924, are known for nothing so much as for Baxter and Bunyan, who, if they were not Congregationalists, greatly influenced Congregationalism in their own times and since. We wish it could be understood that this sequence of meetings meant a renewed interest in our history. Possibly it does, seeing that at Northampton we are to set up a stone in St. Giles's Churchyard in honour of Robert Browne. Meanwhile many of the works of our Elizabethan progenitors have not been reprinted, and the Congregational Historical Society, in spite of strenuous efforts by our respected veteran historians, the Rev. T. G. Crippen and the Rev. W. Pierce, has only a precarious existence. We have no need to be ashamed of our past ; let us not give the impression that we are.

* * *

WE would suggest that all interested in Dr. Horton's article in the present issue should read two small books by distinguished Americans. The "Fundamentalists" make a great deal of noise, and we are apt to assume too easily that America is altogether reactionary and obscurantist theologically. There is, however, much sound learning, careful scholarship, and progressive thought across

the Atlantic, und no better book could be put into the hands of a seeker for Biblical truth than Dr. Newton Clarke's *Sixty Years with the Bible*, a record of experience still of great value, though published many years ago. A more recent work is Dr. Lyman Abbott's *What Christianity Means to Me* (New York : Macmillan Co.), a spiritual autobiography in which the octogenarian editor endeavours "to state simply and clearly the results of sixty years of Bible study." If only we could assure the general acceptance of the view of the Bible set forth by these scholars and by Dr. Horton, we should be on the eve of that revival of religion for which we continually pray.

* * *

WE offer our cordial congratulations to the *Hibbert Journal* on its coming of age. For twenty-one years it has been eagerly looked for quarter by quarter, and most ministers have made a point of seeing it. To its editor, Dr. L. P. Jacks, most of us are greatly in debt, and we are glad to note that henceforth he is to contribute an article in each number "dealing with a philosophical problem suggested by the march of events." For all the stimulus we have received through his writings and through the *Hibbert Journal* we take this opportunity of tendering our thanks.

* * *

WITH this number we complete our first volume, and it is no small thing for a Congregational journal to be able to say that it is paying its way and that there is sufficient demand for it inside and outside the denomination to justify its continuance. We are anxious, however, that all thinking Congregationalists, at any rate, should learn of our existence and become subscribers—not a week passes without a letter from someone who has only just learnt that we are alive ! With 3,500 churches, with 15,000 to 20,000 deacons, is a circulation of 5,000 too big to expect ? We wish all our Churches would follow the example of those who have appointed a CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY representative, who makes it his business to show likely people copies of the journal, and send on the names of subscribers.

Among the articles in our next issue will be one by Dr. John Clifford, and another in which the new Secretary of the Union will set forth his hopes and ideals for organized Congregationalism.

* * *

MANY of our readers, we hope, will wish to preserve their copies of the QUARTERLY, and the Publication Department is issuing a suitable binding case in full grey cloth, gold lettered back and side. The price will be 2s., including the Index and title page, which may be had separately, price 6d. Early application should be made.

A limited number of bound copies of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY for the year 1923 may be had, price 12s. 6d. net.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

A CAUSE WITHOUT A PARTY

THE League of Nations Union has constantly to defend itself against two contrary criticisms. Some people object to it because instead of being strictly educational the Union has, in their opinion, interfered in politics. Others express contempt for it because it contains among its members and officers people of opposing political opinions, and does not boldly and honestly join one party or another. Yet, in my opinion, the Union has acted and is acting exactly as it ought. The point is interesting and may deserve some examination.

The two societies out of which the Union grew, the League of Nations Society and the League of Free Nations Association, were first formed during the war in order to work for the establishment of a League of Nations. The League idea was not then popular, and the Societies were at that time prepared to be party societies, that is, to support any political party which would take up their cause, and fight against any party which opposed it. Then came the end of the war, and, to our immense satisfaction, the actual formation of a League of Nations. The Covenant of the League was signed by twenty-nine nations—the number has now increased to fifty-two—and among them by Great Britain. The League thus became no longer a controversial issue. It was accepted. The Covenant is a Treaty signed by Great Britain, and every Government that may hold power in Great Britain, whatever its political views may be, is bound to carry out its undertakings under the Treaty. The whole nation is bound by its Treaty, unless and until it takes the proper steps for claiming to be released from it.

What work, then, remained for the League of Nations Union? The League was a fact. The Treaty was signed. Why should not the Union simply have disappeared?

For these following reasons: The Covenant of the League was no ordinary treaty which could be simply left to the appropriate Government departments to carry out. The Covenant was an undertaking by the nations concerned to enter, with one another's help, upon a new way of life. It was a high resolve, formed at a time of intense suffering and exaltation. It was a summing up of the experience of many practical statesmen, who had seen the failure of their own best efforts to preserve peace under the ordinary system of diplomacy. Consequently there was a great work to be done before the Covenant could be understood and made vital in the minds of the peoples concerned.

First there was the new way of life ; it had to be explained, both in spirit and in detail, to whole populations, mostly untrained in international affairs, and mostly brought up in the belief that wars are glorious, and other nations "allies" or "enemies," except a spiritless few who remain "neutrals." The actual obligations laid down in the Covenant had to be explained to millions of hearers. There was need of teachers to educate the new generations if the understanding of the nation was to be behind the League.

Next there was the high resolve ; that is, the Covenant was not a bargain made and finished. It was something to live up to, something not to forget. Such a resolution called for vigilance and moral effort, until such time as it should sink into men's minds and become a second nature. It needed apostles to keep the nation's will alert.

Thirdly, there was the summing-up of historical experience, based on the rejection after trial of a great number of popular fallacies which are always reappearing in thoughtless or prejudiced minds. It needed writers, publicists, and students to explain the historical origins and describe the practical working of the League.

Thus there was an abundant work left for the Union to do, a work, indeed, almost too great for a private society to undertake, unless provided with abundant means and considerable courage. It had to teach a whole nation the nature of the League, to keep a whole nation's will permanently up to the level of its higher moments, and to provide that the historical and philosophical study of all that the League implies should be deepened and increased.

The signing of the Covenant by Great Britain implies the existence of a united nation. And, on the whole, we have a united nation. Direct opposition to the League principle is extremely rare. At the last General Election only four members of the House of Commons ventured explicitly to pronounce themselves opposed to the League in principle ; and it is permissible to smile when we notice that these four regard the other six hundred and seventy members as "faddists." One has heard of a juryman who complained of the obstinacy of the other eleven ! If we analyse the lines of argument followed by the anti-Leaguers, the results are equally encouraging. Two of the hottest are the Duke of Northumberland and Mr. Newbould. If you read their criticisms sympathetically, you will see that the Duke dreads the League because he thinks it is the work of people like Mr. Newbould, and Mr. Newbould hates it because he thinks it the work of people like the Duke. Whereas really it is the work of that enormous mass of moderate and open-minded people who are not at all like either. We have, in the ordinary sense of the words, a united nation supporting the League. Of the three Governments which have existed since the signing of the Covenant, all have been in general friendly to the League. The

representatives they have sent to Geneva have all been leaders in the League cause. The present Parliament is far more favourable to the League than the last, and if the General Election had given a majority to either of the opposition parties, the League would, to say the least, not have suffered. Of course, no nation is actually unanimous. There are anti-Leaguers as there are partisans of the Stuarts or opponents of women's suffrage, or advocates of free trade in spirits. But the nation has decided against them.

This fact puts the Union in a position quite unlike that of the ordinary political society. Its work is to further a new policy which has been approved by the whole nation, to enable the whole nation to understand and live up to the Great Promise which the nation itself has made. Thus the Union has a national position. When it wants a large public meeting in a town it can go to the chief magistrate and ask for his patronage and help, as for a cause that is not disputed. It can show among its officers the ex-Prime Ministers and the existing leaders of all the political parties. It can show support from all the Churches, and the explicit commendation of the King. The advantage of this is that the Union can preach its new gospel to the ears of thousands who would otherwise never listen to anything new. It can, without rousing strife, and in a favourable atmosphere, appeal to the spirit of idealism or love of God that lies behind the prejudices and antipathies of most men, and even more to the spirit of reason or common sense which is generally there if only one can find it.

The disadvantage is equally plain : it is that, as compared with the ordinary party meetings, League meetings lack the snap and fire of pugnacity, and the attractive excitement of suggesting the downfall of our unjustly prosperous opponents and the exaltation of our virtuous friends. It is a small sacrifice for so great an advantage.

So much will, I think, be generally agreed ; and if it were the whole truth, the path of the Union would be smooth. But, of course, it is not the whole truth. Among the professed supporters of the League there is a great deal of lip-service. There is the full crop of inconsistency and insincerity that is normal in similar issues. To take one case only : every Government has to take advice from the Admiralty and the War Office, and it must be admitted that the eccentrics who are still anti-League are not so rare inside those great sanctuaries as they are outside. It may quite easily happen that a Government's military and naval experts may hate the League and all its methods, and may press upon the Government a policy which, if not palpably a breach of the Covenant, is yet contrary to its spirit and likely to lead in the direction of war. Suppose the Government accepts such a policy, what is the League of Nations Union to do ?

Of course, it is a question of degree. In a flagrant case there would be nothing for it but for the Union to go into open opposition and try to turn the Government out. The test of a flagrant case will be the effect it produces on those members of the Union who are normally supporters of the Government. If a fair number of them rebel, the Union may rebel with them. But let us realize what that would mean. First, these members of the Union who still supported the Government would presumably resign; that would weaken the Union. Secondly, the Union would cease to have the immense advantages which it now enjoys as a non-partisan society. It would be unable to address audiences belonging to the party which most needed preaching to. It would be finally cut out from the schools; no education authorities would any longer be able to give facilities for League teaching or to provide for lessons on the Covenant. Worst of all, perhaps, if there was an election, and the Union vigorously opposed one party and that party won, there would be a Government in Great Britain which was hostile to the League idea. The fact is, such a definite outbreak of hostility between the Union and any political party would be a grave, if not ruinous, misfortune to the whole League cause. Most of all, the blow would be felt abroad. At present an immense moral effect is produced by the fact that all Great Britain, irrespective of party, is solid for the League. If Great Britain is ever really divided into two parties, pro-League and anti-League, of course we who believe in the League will have to fight and fight hard. But such a division would be a disastrous blow to our best hopes, and we must try to prevent it falling.

Now suppose, what is much more likely, that a Government, without flagrantly contravening the spirit of the League, nevertheless disappoints us in its attitude towards international questions. There have been many such instances and always will be. The Coalition Government often seemed to ardent Leaguers to be using the Supreme Council when it ought to have used the League; the Bonar Law Government seemed to show great lack of initiative and vigour in allowing its own Reparation proposals to be swept aside by France without consideration, and perhaps some lack of diplomatic skill in failing to keep France out of the Ruhr; the present Government seems to many to be taking a very questionable course in building a naval base at Singapore. What should the Union do in such cases?

Some people will say: "Let the Union say just what it thinks and fear no one. Whatever Government may be in power, denounce it if it does wrong, and do not economize truth for reasons of expediency." In this argument there is much plausibility, but there is also a fatal flaw. It is that it would lead straight to party strife inside the Union and the resignation or expulsion of the minorities.

Many a Liberal or Labour man who is keenly desirous of the advent of his own party to power, and profoundly convinced of the lukewarmness or half-heartedness, to say no worse, of all Conservative Governments, will inevitably want to begin denouncing the actions of such a Government long before those equally ardent Leaguers who happen to be Conservatives think he has any just cause. Prudence requires that the Union should not take action against a Government until some at least of the Government's supporters in the Union concur; and there the action, whatever it is, is better left in the first instance to them.

The peculiar difficulty of the League of Nations Union as compared with ordinary political societies is that it cannot afford to have any great political party opposed to it. If that happens, sooner or later that party will get into office, and then it will repudiate the League or wreck it. And even while it is not in power it will sow fatal seeds of weakness and suspicion in the public mind. The Covenant will no longer be a firm national contract; it will be an old policy, liable at any change of Government to be overthrown.

As far as possible, the Union must at the same time steadily press forward its cause and carefully avoid party conflicts.

One way of doing this is to think ahead. The Union took a strong line three years ago in favour of Germany's admission to the League. The matter was not then in dispute, and by now public opinion is more or less habituated to the idea. Similarly, before M. Poincaré went into the Ruhr the Union had thought out a general line of policy on Reparations and Security which it was able to put forward at once, and so, without party conflict, to begin to educate public opinion on what seemed to us the right lines. If the Union had waited till these matters were being actually debated in Parliament, it would have been hard to take a line without attacking one party or the other.

But no one can always be in advance of the day. What if an issue arises which definitely divides the parties? The first thing for the Union is to make sure that the issue is really a League issue, and definitely within its proper field. If it is not, the Union will as a rule be wise to take no action. But what if it is?

It is impossible for the Union, if it is fairly unanimous in its opinion, to keep silent or conceal its belief. But there are many ways, even then, of avoiding the bad blood that comes of political strife. First, the Union can advocate its own policy, as it has always done hitherto, without any attack on those who differ from it. It is better to say, "Thus and thus should we act," than "Cursed be they who do not act thus and thus." Then, if there is real danger of a breach with the Government or with some great party there are various ways of making representations or clearing away misunderstandings. Letters may be written to Ministers; in

grave cases Ministers may be asked to receive deputations ; signed articles can be written in *Headway*. All sorts of steps can be taken to prevent the great and fatal danger of having any great British party definitely hostile to the League cause.

The position of the Union is not very different from that of an average Christian Church or charitable organization. These can assume normally the friendliness of any Government that may come into power. No Government will be professedly anti-Christian or anti-charitable. And the Union has the further assurance of friendliness that so far the head of every Government that has come into existence since the war has himself actually joined the Union. This does not mean that we must support the Government against the Opposition ; but it does mean that, so long as a Government gives us assurance of its friendliness to our cause and its sincere support of League principles, we should treat it as a friend, with due politeness and consideration, even if on occasion we think it an erring friend. It was said long ago by a wise man that when you have a difference with someone you have a choice of two courses, both of them attractive in their way. You can either score off him or you can persuade him. But it is no good trying to do both.

GILBERT MURRAY.

THE ALTERED VIEW OF THE BIBLE

A hundred years ago there was a practically universal consent to the Protestant tradition that the Bible was Divinely inspired in the sense that every word was God's word, that every statement was infallibly true, and that every precept or command in it was authoritative for us.

Calvin in *The Institutes* treats the Bible in that way : he quotes a passage from Deuteronomy or a passage from the Gospels on exactly the same level. He does not refer to the one as the Law, and to the other as the Gospel or the teaching of Jesus. The whole book is for him, from Genesis to Revelation, the uniform word of God, miraculously given to men through the "sacred penmen," just as the Law, according to Jewish tradition, was handed down out of Heaven to Moses.

In Cowper's poems the reader is constantly reminded (and I quote Cowper because I hope that we still read him, while the religious literature of the eighteenth century is less read than that of the seventeenth) of the unquestioned authority of "Scripture." Scripture was then treated as Science is now, a final authority, from which there was no appeal. And by Scripture was meant, not certain great truths found in the Bible, but the Bible itself, the collection of writings, Divinely written, Divinely sifted and bound together, Divinely translated in the Authorised Version, Divinely purged of the Apocrypha, Divinely divided into chapters and verses, Divinely punctuated with commas, semicolons, and full stops, so that the meaning should be unmistakable.

Coleridge's father, the typical clergyman of the later eighteenth century, spoke with awe of Hebrew, as the "immediate language of the Holy Ghost," and probably believed that the Massora, which preserved the ancient text with scrupulous and wholly uncritical care, was equally the work of the Holy Ghost. At that time, and probably up to the publication of Dr. Abbott's article on the Four Gospels in the 9th Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the vast bulk of British Christians believed that the Gospels were also dictated to the four evangelists, with variations which were enough to vindicate them as four independent authorities, but with a Divine guarantee that there should be no contradictions, or essential divergence, not a word or a sentence which was not directly God's word, God speaking to men in those exact terms, those sentences, which it were impious to question or to criticize.

The intelligence was hushed to sleep in reading this Book. Difficulties were not to be expressed or even entertained ; they were

to be referred to our own limitations, and the impossibility of the finite comprehending the Infinite. To criticize the Bible was to criticize God ; to deny the truth of anything in the Bible was to make God a liar.

This view of the Bible was formed and maintained by the instinct which demands some Infallible Authority for religion. When the Infallibility of the Church was called in question at the Reformation, the Bible (which the Church itself had always recognized as the Authority for its teaching) was set in the empty place of Infallibility. You must have some rock to build on, some axiom to start from, some unquestioned and unquestionable court of appeal. The sacred literature, the Book, *must* be that authority, that rock, that plain word of God which settles all controversy.

The motive for asserting this as the Axiom of Religion was just the same as it is now in the Bible League, and in the Fundamentalist movement in America. In the swirl of opinions, and in the discrediting of our established beliefs one after another, we must get *some* footing, some *ποῦ στῶ*, as the old Greek philosopher put it. The Bible is that, the infallible Book, the one smooth, even utterance of God, from Genesis to Revelation (always excluding the Apocrypha), which is to be believed and obeyed without criticism or question. Does this Book speak of the earth as solid and flat, with the heavens spread over it like a tent ? Does it speak of the stars falling on the earth, and of the sun passing over and under it, as it appears to do ? Then away with Astronomy, with Copernicus, with telescopes, and mathematical calculations ! God has spoken ; science which contradicts Him is of the Devil.

Darwin and Evolution, as Mr. Bryan's oratory perceives, are an easier matter to clear out of the way, because they are more recent. But one principle applies to all subjects and to all dogmas. What is written in the Book is final and unquestionable. By reference to the " Word " everything, whether in science or religion, can be immediately settled.

But this view of the Bible, eager and passionate as the attempt is to revive it and to maintain it, has slowly but surely disappeared from minds that are open and bent on truth, for two reasons. First, there was no ground for such a view, except in the dogma of a Jewish orthodoxy which Christians are under no obligation to accept. And second, the careful study of the Bible literature, the examination of the text and of the precarious ways in which the text has come down to us, the close comparison of book with book in the Bible itself and of part with part, the duplication of passages, the variations in the duplication, and above all the manifest development of theological and of ethical ideas in the succeeding periods, put it beyond all question that we have to do, not with an infallible dictation of of the Word of God, but with human documents, produced by many

different minds, and at wide intervals of time, subject to all the limitations of the minds which spoke and of the conditions in which the documents were produced, and handed down to us, liable to all the corruptions and omissions and perversions of text, to which all written documents are subject.

This change of view, coming gradually, and spreading slowly among the people, has produced a sense of insecurity, a sense of irreparable loss, a desperate attempt to recover the lost authority, an angry indignation against all the scholars whose study and discovery of facts have shaken the old foundations. The term "Higher Critic" has become one of abuse, similar to the "Devil and his angels." Why the Lower Critic is not included in the anathema and denunciation is not apparent. Probably it is because the assailants of the critics are not prepared for the careful work which is needed in the collation of texts and versions, in order to find the correct readings. This, the lower criticism, is passed by in the rage of orthodoxy; though it is this textual criticism rather than the literary and historical judgments on the books, called by contrast the "Higher Criticism," which shakes most convulsively the old conception of verbal inspiration.

But the time has now come when we should all open our eyes to the fact that the change of view is not a loss but a gain. Mr. Bernard Snell some years ago published a little book estimating the Loss and Gain of the change. But to-day he would probably maintain that the loss is itself a gain. It must be so. Truth must be a gain; the surrender of blind and superstitious ideas in obedience to the authority of truth is the mark of God's growing revelation, and comes to men by the inspiration of God's Holy Spirit.

There was a time, a moment, when the loss of the dogma about the Bible seemed the loss of the Bible itself, just as the monk Serapion, brought up to use images, cried out in the days of the Iconoclasts with an exceeding bitter cry, "you have taken away my God." Just for a moment in the shock of change, the recognition of the true nature of the Biblical Literature seemed to be the loss of the foundation, the authority, the final and decisive word in religion and in life.

But as we shake off the influence of the dogma, which, always baseless, has become obviously impossible, and as we study the Bible on the new, the only possible, terms, we find that nothing is lost, everything is gained. The value of the Book is intrinsic; the truth it conveys to us is unique; the beauty, the sheer literary beauty of the literature, hardly perceived when the text was supposed to have only a dogmatic value, becomes apparent to all. No good anthology of prose or verse can omit passages from the Bible. It is recognized that no one is really educated who does not know the Bible.

In recent months I have had an experience which tends to justify the view that the supposed loss is actual gain. I was asked to give a course of instruction, showing what the Bible is, seen in the light of scholarship and the larger knowledge of our time. A very miscellaneous company assembled, of varied ages, varied education, and varied religious proclivities. I endeavoured to review the whole Bible Literature, stating what was known of the dates, composition, and authorship, of the several parts. I was not aware that I was telling them anything new, but the interest manifested was extraordinary. The class assembled, whatever the weather, and it was quite clear that the members would do anything to avoid missing it. At the end of the session they all seemed to feel that they had, as it were, recovered their Bible. They had lost, perhaps, some of the traditional views in which they had been brought up, but the Bible they had found was no whit less valuable than the one they had inherited. It was even more interesting, because much which was obscure before had been made plain, and difficulties, moral, historical, theological, had vanished, as the true perspective had been attained, and the elements of time and development had been taken into account.

If the ministers of the Churches will make the same experiment, they will, I think, reap a rich reward. I do not know how Bible Classes on the old dogmatic lines flourish at the present time. But Bible Classes will become the most attractive form of service, when it is understood that the teacher is trying to show his class exactly what the Bible is in the light of scholarship, and in the light of our widening knowledge.

No apologetic is needed for the Bible ; all that is needed is the study and the information which enable the English reader to get the real meaning of the several books, the circumstances in which they were written, their scope and purpose, their special teaching, and the place that each holds in the whole collection.

Many of us remember the thrill of excitement when Robertson Smith enabled us for the first time to understand the Prophets, before George Adam Smith made the book of Isaiah more fascinating than a novel. And others, though fewer perhaps, remember how Wellhausen's analysis of the Pentateuch made the old Law Book live as an intelligible and credible work. Perhaps some even have a warm feeling for Cheyne, who, before Jerahmeel disordered his brain, brought the most sensitive of minds, fearless and devout, to rescue the Psalms from the dead hand of tradition, and to show them living in actual, not always proved or certain, connexions.

It is this revivifying power of scholarship that is needed among the members of the Churches. It is not safe to assume that they know what scholarship has been doing. They often have but the vaguest

idea. The J., E. and P. documents of the Pentateuch mean nothing to them. There are two Isaiahs or more. David did not write the Psalms. Only casual and often distorted reports of the scholars' work reach their ears. But give them, men or women, young or old, the real results of scholarship, and they eagerly welcome the light that breaks in on the familiar but neglected book ; it becomes a new education, a discipline at once intellectual and spiritual, to study and understand the Bible in the new light.

I must finish the description of my experience. When we had surveyed the whole Bible, we agreed to study a single book more minutely. We chose first the Epistle to the Ephesians and then the First Epistle of John, as giving in a compact form the climax of the Christian revelation. The interest of the class was maintained not by novel speculations, but simply and solely by discovering what these epistles, so familiar to the *ear*, actually contained. The plan was adopted of marking out the leading questions raised by each epistle, and dividing the class into commissions, each to keep in mind one question, and bring the results of thought and study into the common stock. Here came the surprise. There were those in the class who had known and studied the Bible all their lives ; but one after another confessed that a new light had broken in ; and all were astonished at the richness and the fulness of truth revealed, yes certainly revealed, in these two epistles attributed to two of the earliest apostles. Whether the criticism of these later years had brought out new meanings ; whether the sense of liberty to criticize and reject established views added a new zest ; whether it is the simple fact about the Bible that new light and truth are always breaking out from it, I will not attempt to determine. But here was the refreshing discovery that the Bible, handled in the new way, is not less attractive and enthralling than it was under the spell of the old dogma. Its value is intrinsic. It attracts and enthralls, not because a certain view is taken of its origin, and of its authority and inerrancy, but because of what it is. As Coleridge said, anticipating the criticism which was then beginning, the real power of the Bible is that it *finds* us. It finds us now, when it comes in the clear light of a fearless criticism, as much as when it came swathed in clouds of mystery, invested with a sacrosanct authority. It is what it is.

But the question may still be asked : Is it religiously of the same value ? Does it rule and direct our faith and our practice as it did in the days of our fathers ? I think the answer to this question is, or presently will be, in the affirmative. For the more candidly and unhesitatingly we treat the Bible as we should any literature which comes into our hands from a remote past, the more does the uniqueness of the Hebrew Biblia strike us ; the more does the connexion between those Jewish writings and the Apostolic documents appeal

to us ; and the more overwhelming appears the culmination of the literature in the person and the work of Christ.

Taking the Old Testament by itself for a moment, its interest and influence do not rest on a supposed infallibility of its facts and its doctrines—such an infallibility is only embarrassing in view of moral problems, discrepancies, and crude theological conceptions, which are found in all or most of the books—but the whole literature arrests, appeals, and influences us, because it brings out one great fact, namely, that Israel was the People of God, called to a certain mission in the world, trained, disciplined, chastised, taught, to declare the unity and the holiness of God. The fact that the literature is the folklore, the history, the poetry, the religious teaching of a small nation, extending over the better part of a millennium, makes this distinctive testimony the more impressive. This was the People of God ; to it God was revealing Himself ; with that revelation this People was entrusted. This is so salient a fact, and carries with it such significance, that all the variations, and the difficulties, the moral lapses, the imperfect truths, the sins and apostasies faithfully recorded, the faults of even the greatest national heroes, the blunders of even the loftiest of the Prophets, no more affect the main result than the bare and ugly spots, the fallen trees, or the decaying vegetation alter the main sweep of a great mountain landscape.

It was one of the great mistakes of the past generation that the Old Testament was given up. The New Testament, with its final revelation, was thought to be enough. But Ewald and his school have saved, or are saving, us from this error. *In vetere testamento novum latet ; in novo testamento vetus patet.* So Augustine ; and we begin to see the force of this by the very play of a free criticism on the Old Testament, and by the comparative study of religions. The Old Testament is unique because it prepares for the New by a history, a people, developed and trained for a thousand years, that out of it Christ might come. When Christ came revelation was completed. God showed Himself as fully as He can to finite minds in the condition of earthly life. And the New Testament is the collection of the literature which grew at once out of that manifestation. The strange fact is that none of this New Testament literature is planned, systematic, complete. All of it, or almost all of it, is written in the common dialect of the period, without literary intention, or any particular literary charm. In this respect the New Testament is inferior to the Old ; and we are indebted to scholars who have made this fact plain. But on the other hand, the collection of these brief and occasional writings, which can be compressed into a small book costing but a few pence, defies criticism, and remains, after every attempt to belittle or discredit them, the greatest wonder, and the greatest worker of wonders, in the world. Those notes of the life of Jesus, which are called the Synoptic Gospels, are a Gospel

indeed, the news which we all most want to receive of God's purpose to us, and of how we may fulfil His purpose. The Fourth Gospel, written "that we may believe," accomplishes its object. Sometimes single sentences, sometimes the whole scope and contents of the brief book, bring men to know Christ and give them eternal life by believing in Him. That excellent piece of history—the Acts of the Apostles—gives an authentic picture of the origin and early development of the Church. The epistles show this Church in being, making, through blunders and failures, the beginnings of a new moral life, the promise of a Kingdom of God upon earth. The Apocalypse, cryptic, and of doubtful interpretation, is yet a fitting conclusion, not only to the New Testament, but to the whole Bible; for it points consistently to the final triumph of Good, to the reign of Christ, and the fulfilment of the purpose for which Israel was called, and Christ came and died and rose again—nay, perhaps even to the fulfilment of the purpose for which the earth was formed for the habitation of man, and man was developed to possess and subdue it, and to rise from it into the empyrean, as the heir of even better worlds.

It is the Bible, in its great sweep of events and of ideas, the Bible in its complete scope, as the story of man and his destiny, that makes the unfailing appeal to the human mind. The Bible has been lost in texts, made incredible and often repellent by dogmatic systems forced on it or dug out of it.

But the changed view of the Bible, which has come to be the inheritance of this generation, gives us something far grander and more satisfying than any system which has ever been wrung or tortured out of it.

We are able in study and meditation to look right through the imperfect medium of the actual writings, the human documents which have brought down to us the imperishable truths, and we are able to see on the plane of history, and with the eyes of faith, how God has made us for Himself, and how, in spite of our fall and our wanderings, our blindness and unbelief, He has sought us until He has found us, and appointed for us our everlasting rest in Himself.

ROBERT F. HORTON.

SOME INDIAN WOMEN I MET

It was on a bright fresh Sunday morning in Delhi, when our deputation tour was almost finished, that suddenly, in the crowded street amidst bullock carts, horse tongas and motor cars I saw threading its way a donkey led by a Panjabi. Upon it sat a woman holding her babe at her breast, even as Mary, with Joseph leading the ass, had held the Christ. The next morning I spent three hours at the Legislative Assembly. The debate on the Salt Tax was interesting, but what thrilled me most was to look down upon men of different races and religions learning to look upon India as one and as claiming their common service. Sitting on one bench, side by side, were a Sikh, a Pathan, a Mohammedan, and a Parsee; behind was an orthodox Hindu, and two benches away Mr. Cotelingham, formerly the Christian Headmaster of our Wardlaw High School at Bellary.

With such varied strands and out of the mingling of threads from East and West, from Christian and Hindu, must be woven the fabric of Indian national life. And in and out among the different threads, this way and that, moves the Indian woman, often silently, but always subtly, influencing the colour and texture, the crossing and re-crossing of the threads. In one place we were told that since Mahatma Gandhi was put in prison it has been the women who have quietly and patiently cherished the aims and dreams of nationalism. His wife continues working and speaking against the doctrine of untouchability; their adopted daughter from the "untouchables" is a powerful witness to the sincerity of their teaching on the wrongfulness of caste.

Everywhere in India we met people. Every station, every train was crowded, and the women were almost as many as the men; the roads were lined with them, trudging, trudging, mile after mile, and carrying huge bundles of fodder or grain. The vivid green of the rice fields was broken by gay patches of cerise, blue, orange, or red, showing where the women in their bright saris were stooping at their toil, knee-deep, in the paddy water. All over India there are women weeding in the fields, tramping by the wayside, or journeying on an ass, after immemorial fashion, or, if of high caste, sitting for endless hours behind the purdah or travelling in tightly closed carriages. All over India, too, in the North, where the seclusion of purdah is so strict, as well as in the South, where even high caste women are seen in the streets, are women attending school and college, or earning their living as teachers and secretaries, nurses and doctors. I think it was when I saw Hindu (non-Christian) girls

in the anatomy and dissecting laboratory of the Women's Medical College, Ludhiana, that I realized more fully than before the terrific changes being wrought among the women of India to-day.

The *Daily Telegraph*, reporting a Conference of Orthodox Hindus held at Benares under the chairmanship of the Maharajah of Benares on August 18, 1923, says: "Disorderly scenes resulted from an attempt by progressives to raise the minimum marriageable age of girls from 8 to 12." Orthodox Hinduism still fights for the right to marry little girls of eight—and wins! Side by side with this may be put the following from the Special Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, writing from Lucknow last December: "'Where then would you like to see the Indian Mohammedan turn his energies?' I asked a big Mohammedan doctor who had explained to me that thirty years must elapse before Indian Mohammedans could agree to Swaraj—'Why not Social Reform? Look at the purdah system. Who should be a boy's best friend and teacher till he's twelve years old? The mother, of course. What kind of a friend or teacher can the mother be when she has to spend all her life behind the curtain? That is the real reason why we Mohammedans are so backward in education. It's not learning the Koran, as some people think.'"

Thank God that there are progressives in India—Hindu and Mohammedan as well as Christian—who realize that if India is to come to her own, her women must be free and educated. Many women, non-Christian as well as Christian, are working for this on behalf of their millions of sisters. There is urgent need that the contribution of Christian women and of the Church of Christ in India should be a more consciously constructive and vital one than it is at present. Fundamentally, the question is moral and spiritual, deep-rooted in the Gospel of Christ. Women must be ready to help towards the achievement of a fuller, richer, more spiritual life not only for themselves, but for the Indian family, and especially for the men. How can *they* be what they might be so long as they merely use woman, and, failing to see in her the Divine Spirit, desecrate the image of God?

It would be easy to write of the leading women who in connexion with the Churches, the Y.W.C.A., the National (Home) Missionary Society, and in medical and educational work, are cutting a way through the jungle, or, to keep the metaphor I started with, are weaving into Indian life a thread of pure womanhood, noble and strong, in Christian service. I might write of the Indian women who as mistresses in our L.M.S. Girls' High Schools are advancing the education of women in India, or of many at work in our city Churches. But I want to tell of some of the women I met in out-of-the-way places; of women who with passionate love for Christ are serving Him in lowly ways, and of some who as yet look wistfully

at Him from afar and wonder tremblingly what He has to do with such as they. There was gentle Mrs. S——, the pastor's wife, in one of our L.M.S. stations. As a girl she had been in Miss Butler's School at Bangalore, and there her Christian life had grown strong and deep. Hers was a love-match, and side by side with her husband, one of the finest young Christians we met, she does her equal share in building up the Church through teaching in Sunday School, the Christian Endeavour, and the Women's Meeting. It was a great privilege to visit her in her tiny Indian home, to see her books, and to talk with her of her day-school teaching. Her wee babe died a year or so ago, and, childless herself, she is mother to the girls' school. It does not need much imagination to estimate her influence for Christ and for Indian womanhood in the future, or, when one remembers that nine-tenths of the Christians in India are illiterate, to realize the need for hundreds more like her, ready to take their share in the work of Christian education.

Bangalore and Poona gave evidence of the marvellous way in which educated Hindu women are giving themselves to teaching and to social service. At Poona it was intensely interesting to see the school for women carried on by the Seva Sadan Society. Among the subjects offered are weaving and other handicrafts, instruction in midwifery and child welfare, training for teaching and nursing. The average daily attendance, including girls in the boarding school and the practising school for the teachers in training, is over nine hundred. We were shown round by the woman superintendent, who struck us as remarkably gifted and capable, with high ideals and a keen desire to serve her fellow countrywomen. We were hardly surprised when we learnt that she, too, was one of Miss Butler's girls, the first Hindu boarder received into our Girls' High School at Bangalore.

At Coimbatore I had an audience almost entirely Hindu. It was Saturday afternoon, and the Cinema Hall was nearly full of Indian women who had crowded in to see, not the film pictures but Bible pictures, such as we use in our Sunday Schools at home. They attend such a meeting each month, and come, not as an idle crowd out of mere curiosity, but in response to definite invitation from the dozen or so of our Biblewomen, whose steady work year after year has made such a gathering possible. There they were, four hundred of them, ready to listen while I tried to tell them of the love of Christ for the women of India—Hindu women, remember, not Christians, ready to learn hymns in praise of the great Father and to hear about Christ.

Many accounts might be given of the Biblewomen. Again and again we reverently greeted women in whose eyes shone the light of the love of Christ and upon whose faces glowed the joy born of living in His presence and of passionate self-giving for His

dear sake. Fine women they are. Two in South India had undertaken the organization of the evangelistic work of a whole district while the woman missionary was on furlough. In the North we met Miss M——, closely associated with one of our missionaries in her work of training Biblewomen for several societies. During the absence on furlough of the missionary, Miss M—— was responsible for the work of the training school. On the practical side she is invaluable, and her own evangelistic fervour is so strong that she is a tower of strength on preaching tours in the villages. Hidden away in the zenanas and taught by the Biblewomen are many secret disciples, who study their Bibles and serve the Lord with gladness; but how many more there are unable to read who have not heard of Him. In some districts the Church is using women more and more. We met women deacons, and in our meetings with Indian Church members women sometimes joined in the discussions. In many places, however, women have little, if any, chance of contributing to the life of the Church. There are Church members, deacons even, who remain content that their wives are unable to read God's Word. But there are Western peoples not wholly convinced that women have powers worthy of cultivation or of expression—and India is moving. We heard of one man who started to teach his wife to read and was laughed at by the whole village, and so he stopped. But he started again later, and in spite of the ridicule continued to teach her. Will that man have the strength and imagination, I wonder, to help his wife to take her share in Christian family life and in family prayers, for example? The Mohammedan doctor would tell him that the mother is the best teacher of his children. In this respect the Christians have a long way to go. I remember one day we drove out to a church some twelve or fifteen miles from Nagercoil. On the way we stopped several times to receive the welcome of small village congregations. Interesting little groups they were; pastor and deacons came up to shake hands, the children crowded round, while the women always stood in rows a respectable distance behind. Invariably I said to the Church officials, "Now please bring your wives to shake hands, too." No doubt we left in each village a group of astonished women agreeing heartily with the men as they commented on my extraordinary behaviour!

At Nagercoil the Christian women were called together so that I might speak to them. The service was in the beautiful church where, the Sunday before, we had joined in the District Communion Service at which two thousand were present. When I got there I found five hundred women and two men. These two had very kindly come to take the chair and to interpret—honestly believing we could not have a meeting without them. But a young High School teacher of only twenty-three years was persuaded to translate for me. Neither the missionaries nor I realized just how big a thing

she was doing. I fear she suffered for it afterwards. If a woman had to do such a bold-faced thing as to stand up and speak in public, it should have been a grave old woman of seniority and standing, and not a slip of a girl, even if she had taken Inter. B.A. ! When the poor girl's father heard of it, he was horrified at her immodesty and very angry with her—just as horrified and angry as some English parents were for similar reasons not so very many years ago !

And so, wherever we went, we found women each in her own way helping to weave the fabric of Indian life. Some, influenced merely by Western fashion and by feminist ideas, are claiming a place in professional and even in business life. Some, ardent followers of Gandhi, have vowed to serve their country and to work and live that nationalist aims may be realized. And some, passionate lovers of the Saviour, have caught His vision of the Kingdom, and, whether in well-organized Christian work in the big centres or in out-caste villages by the wayside, are serving Him and sharing His travail that the kingdom may come. And some there are who do not think of any of these things. For them life is full of the struggle and sin of each day as it comes, and yet wistfully they journey on, seeking they know not what. As we travelled about amongst the seething mass of India's millions, one realized more and more all the sin and degradation, all the pitiful poverty of soul of the life lived without God in the world. Yet, again and again, when the horror of it all was almost more than one could bear, the realization came that God was there in it all, that His Spirit was astir in India, that Christ was moving even within the hearts of those who say Him nay, for

He is the Drover of the Soul ; he leads the flock of men
All wistful on that weary track, and brings them back again.
The dreaming few, the slaving crew, the motley caste of life—
The wastrel and artificer, the harlot and the wife—
They may not rest, for ever pressed by one they cannot see.

I. PARKER CRANE.

RELIGION AND HEALING

THE following pages do not claim to be anything more than a series of notes, mainly from an historical point of view, on the subject of "Healing in the Church from the Earliest Times." They may not unfitly begin with some reference to the Old Testament, and in particular with what may serve as a motto, the familiar words from Psalm 103 : "Who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases." The function of the priest as physician is clearly laid down in the Pentateuch, where he enjoys a greater authority than the Babylonian surgeon of the Code of Khammurabi, probably because his sphere of treatment was more limited. Arguing from Exodus 21⁹, the Rabbis declared that it was a positive commandment for a man to seek healing. It is written of Asa in 2 Chron. 16¹² that "he was diseased in his feet . . . yet in his disease he resorted not unto the Lord, but to the physicians." Apparently there were others in Judah who resorted not unto the physicians, but to the Lord. To such the well-known passage in Ecclesiasticus 38 seems to be addressed :

Cultivate the physician in accordance with the need of him,
For him also hath God ordained.
It is from God that the physician getteth wisdom,
And from the king he receiveth gifts.
The skill of the physician lifteth up his head (i.e. brings him
to honour)
And he may stand before nobles.
God hath created medicines out of the earth,
And let not a discerning man reject them.
By means of them the physician assuageth pain,
And likewise the apothecary prepareth a confection ;
That God's work may not cease
Nor health from the face of the earth.
My son, in sickness be not negligent ;
Pray unto God, for He can heal.
Turn from iniquity . . . and offer a sacrifice.
And to the physician also give a place ;
Nor should he be far away, for of him there is need.
For there is a time when successful help is in his power ;
For he also maketh supplication to God,
To make his diagnosis successful,
And the treatment, that it may promote recovery.

This interesting advice is quite in line with general Rabbinic teaching, which, while believing in the efficacy of prayer, did not deny the existence of disease or the power of drugs. It stresses the point that the physician has been divinely ordained for a special and necessary office in human affairs. His skill is derived

from God, and is also recognized and esteemed by earthly potentates. God's mighty working manifests itself ceaselessly on the earth in the work of the physician; there is a Divine design to encourage science. Though the first thing to do in sickness is to make one's peace with God by resorting to prayer and sacrifice, the next is to summon the doctor, who, it is noteworthy, is also conscious of the need of God. The idea that physical ills are a punishment for sin is one that finds frequent expression in the Old Testament, and our extract concludes with the warning that

He that sinneth before his Maker
Shall be delivered into the hands of the physician,

which probably means that sin is punished by sickness, and the culprit will then have to rely on the doctor for relief—God will not help him (presumably until he has become penitent). We may note in passing that Philo tells us that the Essenes joined the care of the body to that of the soul by avoiding cities.

The point of view reflected in Ecclesiasticus meets us again in a well-known passage of the New Testament, to wit James 5¹⁴⁻¹⁶. The solemn visit here described gives a vivid picture of the customs of a Jewish town. James is not recommending it as a new practice; visiting the sick was both enjoined and practised by the Rabbis. As for the oil, Philo and Pliny praised its medicinal properties, and Galen in the second century called it "the best of all remedies for paralysis." Most ancient peoples used it as a common remedial agent; doubtless it often owed its efficacy wholly to its influence on the patient's mind. When Herod the Great was in his last illness his physicians prescribed a bath of oil for him. There is a curious reference in the Apocalyptic "Life of Adam and Eve" to our first father's longing in his last pains for the oil of life which flows from the tree of God's mercy in Paradise. The combination of this healing use of oil (which is of course quite distinct from the anointing which symbolized the conveyance of a character or grace) with an appeal to spiritual forces meets us again in the instructions given by Jesus to the Twelve, Mark 6¹³, and these two passages were quite enough for succeeding generations to go by. Tertullian tells us that Severus, the father of Antoninus, was healed by a Christian's use of oil, and in gratitude therefor kept him in his palace till the day of his death. Many narratives of the period from A.D. 200 to 600 tell of oil-cures, especially in cases of paralysis and blindness. Church authorities found it a welcome substitute for pagan charms and incantations. From the fourth century we have liturgical forms for blessing the oil, as in the Sacramentary of Serapion: "Grant healing power upon these creatures, that every fever and every demon and every sickness

may depart through the drinking and the anointing, and that the partaking of these creatures may be a healing medicine and a medicine of complete soundness in the Name of the Only Begotten Jesus Christ." Once the oil was properly consecrated its use was permitted to any person.

By the year 800, however, its use was not only restricted to the clergy, but was transformed into an anointing of those about to die, not as a means to their recovery, but with a view to the remission of their sins. This would seem to be another instance of the infiltration of popular pagan custom, for as early as Irenæus we read of a Gnostic sect, the Heracleonites, who anointed the dying with oil and water to protect them from hostile powers in the spirit world. It is curious that the Roman sacrament of Extreme Unction should be authoritatively defined at the Council of Trent as "established by Christ our Lord, implied in St. Mark, and commanded and promulgated to the faithful by St. James." In the Eastern Church the mystery of anointing is said to retain in part its original purpose as a therapeutic process. Chrysostom recommends as a safeguard against drunkenness the anointing of the body with oil taken from the martyrs' tombs, and the Nestorians mixed oil, water, and the relics of a saint (failing this, dust from the scene of a martyrdom) wherewith to anoint the sick. This looks as though anointing with oil alone had proved ineffective, and an attempt was being made to add fresh virtue to it.

There is another tributary to be explored before we trace the main stream of our topic. It concerns the ancient world outside of Judaism, and we begin, as is usually the case, with Egypt. There was some kind of a hospital system in connexion with the temples of Saturn which existed 4000 B.C., but whose records were destroyed in a religious revolution. What there was of medical knowledge was possessed by the priests, and the practice of Incubation, which involved the visit of sick persons to the temple, is found at a very early date. The temples at Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis had clinics attached to them. Those early medical works, the Books of Hermes, were preserved in the shrines, and patients paid their contributions to the priests. Alexandria in later days was a famous medical centre. In Greece the most famous temples for the cure of disease were those of Æsculapius at Cos and Trikki; others were at Rhodes, Pergammon and Epidauros.

China at a very early date had books dealing with the theory of medicine. In India as early as 260 B.C. the great Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, founded many hospitals, of which the one at Surat still exists. These hospitals contained provision so extensive as to be quite comparable with modern institutions. Asoka's hospitals were swept away in the revival of Brahmanism.

In the Roman world at the beginning of our era there were open surgeries of various reputation and price; the medical profession, usually in the hands of Greeks, was specialized, and there were even women practitioners, especially in obstetrics. Many towns had municipal dispensaries for out-patients. In Hadrian's time there was a military hospital in Rome. All these activities went side by side with a great religious movement. The cheerful, naïve spirit of the old religion was dying. There was a real demand for purity, consolation, expiation, and healing. The Stoics paid unwearied attention to the health and diseases of the soul. Everywhere people were on the look-out for new rites and new treatment. There was a great revival of the cult of Æsculapius, and it spread through the west, fusing itself with the cults of Serapis, Hygeia, and Salus, and always widening its sphere. Æsculapius became "saviour" pure and simple, the God who aids man in all his distresses. Both the cult and the physicians were humane; the poor were often treated gratis and with particular attention. The more men sought deliverance and healing in religion the greater grew the fame of Æsculapius—people journeyed to his sanatoria as they do to-day to baths. Other cults were affected; Zeus himself and Apollo appear as "saviours." In fact, no one could be a god unless he were a saviour, and Porphyry has to plead that the aim of philosophy is the "salvation" of the soul.

"Jesus," says Harnack,¹ "appeared among His people as a physician." Our Gospels depict Him as the healer of body and soul. He does not say much about sickness, He cures it; and He does not rigidly distinguish between bodily and spiritual ailments, treating them both as expressions of one fundamental ailment. No sickness of soul or of body repels Him; sinful women, tax-gatherers, and the physically disabled and impotent are always with Him. It was thus He won His following. His adherents were His grateful patients; they were healed because they had believed on Him, He was their "Giver of Life." His death only confirmed this—to them it was a saving death. The burden of their preaching was "God our Saviour," the good physician whose person, deeds, and sufferings were man's salvation. He was the Saviour *par excellence*; Irenæus reproaches one of the Gnostics for never calling Jesus "Lord," but only "Saviour."

It was, as we have seen, a message that met the need of the age. Christianity won its triumphs here long before it conquered in the realm of Philosophy. The refrain of one of our popular hymns, "Jesus saves," might have been, indeed was, its watch-word and its slogan. Over against an imaginary Æsculapius it set up the real Jesus. It is even possible that representations of

¹ *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I, 101 ff.

the former were transformed into likenesses of the latter, as in the case of the statue which Eusebius saw at Paneas. With conscious deliberation the new faith offered itself as the medicine of soul and body; the New Testament is full of medical metaphors.¹ In the Early Fathers, baptism is a bath for the recovery of life, the Supper is the potion of immortality, penance is the genuine remedy derived from the Atonement. Paul and "John" use the word "Life" to sum up the blessings of religion. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the Logos as physician, and Origen dwells much on this. The Church is Christ's consulting-room and surgery, and He applies not the juices of herbs but the sacraments of the Word to their diseases.

Many analogies are drawn between penitence and bodily recovery. "Let us," says Origen, "in the exercise of moral discipline, follow the practice of physicians, and only use the knife when all other means have failed, when application of oil and salves and soothing poultices leave the swelling still hard." Similarly Cyprian: "The Lord's priest must employ salutary remedies. He is an unskilled physician who handles tenderly the swollen edges of a wound and allows the poison lodged in the inward part to be aggravated by leaving it alone. The wound must be opened and lanced; recourse must be had to the strong remedy of cutting out the corrupting parts. Though the patient scream out in pain and wail or weep because he cannot bear it, afterwards he will be grateful when he feels that he is cured."

Harnack points out that this constant preoccupation with the "diseases" of sin had some unhappy consequences in a deadening not only of the æsthetic but of the ordinary moral sense. As a protest against the sensuousness of paganism there grew up in the Church an æsthetic of ugliness (repeated in Reformation and post-Reformation times). We remember Jerome's abhorrence of the bath, and in a similar way disease and death, bones and corruption, were preferred to health and beauty. In the third and fourth centuries Christians were calling sickness health and regarding death as life. Along another line we find the veneration of saints and the rise of chapels in honour of saints and martyrs, developing into a thoroughgoing imitation of the Æsculapius cult. These shrines were resorted to by those seeking the cure of their bodily troubles, and the old practice of incubation, repudiated as heathenish by earlier Christian teachers, was very widely revived.

It is more agreeable to dwell on the way in which the early Church cared for the sick. From the outset disciples were concerned with the word "I was sick and ye visited me." The prayer

¹ In 2 Timothy the word of heretics is said to eat "like a gangrene," and needs to be combated by "healthy teaching."

of the Church at Rome preserved in Clement's letter to Corinth (A.D. 96) contains supplications for those who are sick in soul and body. Polycarp reminds the Christians of Philippi that the Elders must care for the infirm; Justin and Tertullian tell us that the offerings at worship were partly devoted to the sick. There is some evidence that the bishop, especially in Syria and Palestine, was often himself a physician. In the Canons of Hippolytus the gift of healing is asked for the bishop and presbyter at ordination, and another passage presupposes that anyone who possessed this gift sought at once to be enrolled among the clergy. It was the duty of the deacons, as the eyes of the bishop, to inform the Church of all cases of sickness that they might visit and give such succour as the president might think fit. In this the deacons were aided by the order of "widows." In one second-century instruction it is laid down that "in every congregation at least one widow is to be appointed to take care of sick women; she is to be obliging and sober so that she may be ready for calls of service during the night, and must report cases of need to the Elders." In the Eastern Church the order of widows seems to have passed into that of "deaconesses" fairly early.

It was the deacons who had most to do, as we learn from Cyprian's letters and the Acts of the Martyrs. In time of persecution their ordinarily onerous duties became perilous. Cyprian, writing from his retreat, urges them unceasingly not to neglect the sick. But the laity were not exempt on the score that special officers existed for this duty. "No one is to say that he has not been trained to this mode of service. No one is to plead a comfortable life, or the unwonted character of the duty, as a pretext for not being helpful to other people." In times of pestilence especially, the flame of loving-kindness was kindled in the heart of the Christian, and Tertullian often heard on pagan lips the remark: "Look how they love one another."

Significant, too, is the conflict waged by the Church against abortion and the unnatural vices of the pagan world. Here her interests were those of humanity. To her human life had value and dignity; it must not be destroyed or dishonoured at any stage. This attitude she succeeded in incorporating in State legislation even before Constantine, and increasingly so afterwards.

With Constantine specifically Christian hospitals began to appear. In 370 Basil had one built for lepers at Cæsarea, and Chrysostom founded one at Constantinople. In Alexandria an order of 600 *parabolani* attended to the sick, being chosen for their experience by the prelate of the city. One of Jerome's wealthy Roman ladies, Fabiola, founded the first hospital at Rome that had a country convalescent home connected with it. Augustine had a hospital at Hippo. One of Justinian's laws speaks of these *Nosocomia*

among institutions connected with the Church. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the bond between monasteries and hospitals was very marked, and it was strengthened by the Crusaders, whose routes are dotted with hospital foundations. There was a leper hospital in London in 1118. From the thirteenth century hospitals became common enough to demand secular rather than monastic or ecclesiastical management. While it is incorrect to say that hospitals are a direct result of Christianity, there is no doubt that Christianity instilled and encouraged humanitarian views and made them popular with the civilized peoples of the world. In time it became evident that the treatment of disease in buildings specially set apart was a necessity in urban districts. The establishment of a hospital freed the streets of the abuses attendant upon beggars who made their ailments the chief ground of their appeal for alms. As the knowledge of hygiene and of the doctrine of cleanliness in houses and towns, in food and water, became diffused and appreciated, hospitals were found to be of at least as much importance to the healthy in crowded communities as to the sick.

There is, however, another side to the relation of Christianity to therapeutics. While, as we have seen, no power has caused men and women so to sacrifice time, money, and even life itself for the care and nurture of the sick, as the example and precepts of Jesus, on the other hand the iron grip of decadent orthodoxy has done much through the centuries to retard the science of medicine. For ages the doctrine of the power of demons in the lives of men, especially in the production of disease, held a maleficent sway. Christians everywhere were exorcists, and many wondrous feats are recorded, e.g. Hilary's relief of a possessed camel, and Bernard's excommunication of a crowd of flies that annoyed him as he began to preach. The use of exorcism against caterpillars and grasshoppers in the Middle Ages was common. John Wesley (October 25, 1739) tells how he exorcized a blasphemous spirit from a woman in Bristol. There were three chief methods in exorcism: (1) the use of ecclesiastical formulæ and signs; (2) the attempt to disgust the demon and wound his pride by hurling blasphemous and obscene epithets at him, assailing him with evil-smelling drugs and trampling and spitting upon a picture of the devil; (3) the drastic method of scourging and other forms of torture. There are still to be seen in some Continental cities "witch-towers," and "fool-towers" where the more gentle lunatics were incarcerated. The treatment of the insane up to a comparatively recent date is a dark blot on Christian civilization.

Another way in which the Church retarded the progress of the healing art was by its opposition to dissection. It was unlawful to meddle with the bodies of the dead—because of the doctrine

of the resurrection of the flesh. Surgery was forbidden because forsooth "the Church abhors the shedding of blood." The use of medicine was discouraged; when supernatural means were so abundant, drugs were not only irreligious but superfluous. Medical work consequently fell into the hands of charlatans and of Jews. "Better," said the clergy of Halle once, "to die with Christ than to be cured by a Jew doctor aided by the devil."

Another reason for ecclesiastical opposition is found where the physicians were inside the Church. The monks converted medicine to base uses, employing charms, amulets, and relics to extort money from the sick. The scandal was so great that a Lateran Council in 1123 forbade priests and monks to attend the sick otherwise than as ministers of religion. When the priests found that they could no longer confine the practice of medicine to themselves, they stigmatized and denounced it. In 1215 Pope Innocent III anathematized surgery and any priest practising it.

Nearer to our own time there has been similar objection to inoculation, vaccination, and anæsthetics, including, most recently of all, "twilight sleep." It is only fair to say that not only the Church but the medical profession itself, as opposed to its pioneers and reformers, has done some hindering.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss what is known as mental healing. The records of history are full of such cases. For the first thousand years of our era healers were almost wholly exorcists. Cures by saints have usually little contemporary evidence; legends grow swiftly round the names of great men like Thomas of Canterbury and Xavier. Bede tells of cures wrought by John of Beverley, and the biographers of Bernard of Clairvaux say he wrought many. Francis of Assisi cured epileptics, paralytics, and the blind. St. Thomas of Hereford (thirteenth century), the last Englishman to be officially canonized, has to his record 429 miracles. Catherine of Siena excelled in exorcism, though this meant the cure of any and every disease. Luther's cure of Melanchthon by prayer for and encouragement of the patient is well known. St. Sauveur of Horta and St. Philip Neri were renowned healers. George Fox performed some cures, notably one on the lame arm of Richard Meyer. Valentine Greatrakes (1628-83), an Irish Protestant, won the confidence of multitudes as a healer, and the Church endeavoured to prohibit his operations. Modern healers have mostly hailed from America, e.g. C. G. Finney and George Barnes, the revivalists; Charles Cullis, of Boston; Joseph Smith, the Mormon, who began with exorcism and went on to faith-healing; Francis Schlatter (originally an Alsatian), and John Alexander Dowie (born in Edinburgh), Phineas Quimby, Mrs. Eddy, and H. W. Dresser ("New Thought"), who may be classed as metaphysical healers. In Europe we have had Dorothea

Trudel, the Swiss; Prince Hohenlohe (1794-1849), and Johann C. Blumhardt, the Germans; and Father John of Cronstadt, the Russian. Many can still remember W. E. Boardman's establishment "Bethshan," in North London, and it is said that the late Lord Radstock practised anointing in Australia. Father Mathew, the Irish apostle of temperance, had considerable vogue as a healer.

In 1905 there was formed in connection with Emmanuel Church, Boston, a tuberculosis class for the alleviation of consumptives. "In this experience it was found that certain psychic and social factors greatly aided in a cure, and in 1906 the work expanded into the Emmanuel Movement." It is an attempt to combine the wisdom and efforts of the physician, the clergyman, the psychologist, and the sociologist, to combat conditions most frequently met in a large city. In the medical phase of the work mental healing has had a large place and has received most emphasis in the popular presentation of the movement. I believe Mr. Hickson, who has recently visited this country, and was particularly active in Aberdeen before going to Australia, is connected with the Emmanuel Movement. Perhaps its most valuable service will be in stimulating the medical profession to study therapeutics less exclusively on the physical side. There is no doubt that minister and doctor have something to learn from one another, and it is equally true that it is not for the former to absorb the professional sphere and functions of the physician. We must not go back to that primitive or mediæval phase of civilization in which the functions of the priest and the medicine man were combined in the person of one individual whose pharmacopœia consisted mainly of incantations and magic for the treatment of every ill.

We are perhaps only at the beginning of our knowledge of the psychology of healing. It may be that Churches some day will have their own hospitals or nursing homes, their own surgeons and physicians, men of spiritual sympathies as well as medical skill. Happily there have always been, and there are to-day, not a few of such. Many are in the mission field. May their tribe increase at home. Meanwhile two things may be said. First, it is surely part of the Gospel that bodily health is the will of God—on this see *The Christian Doctrine of Health*, by the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, and the writings of our own Dr. Hadfield. Secondly, there is still wisdom in the counsel of Ecclesiasticus, quoted at the beginning of this article, and in the immortal words (I think, of Ambroise Paré) inscribed over the gateway of the College of Surgeons in Paris: "I dressed the patient's wounds; God healed him."

A. J. GRIEVE.

SOWING THE WIND: IRISH MEMORIES

It is difficult to say "No" to the courageous man who has undertaken the responsibility of editing our new *QUARTERLY*, but it is much more difficult to convince oneself that in saying "Yes" one is not much more likely to add to his embarrassments than to lighten his burden.

He wants me to repeat a few humorous Irish stories which my friends have sometimes found amusing. The humour of an Irish story is an elfish quality hard to capture in cold blood! It is easy enough to record the story with meticulous exactitude of incident and wording, and find the result as little like the real thing on the lips of a humorous Irishman as a bleached skeleton is like a lovely maiden. It requires the mellow Irish brogue, with its sensitive cadence, its impish sanities, its mocking deferences, and its insinuating roguishness, to clothe dry bones with life.

I remember once, after a rough crossing, landing at Dublin in a drenching downpour of rain, a pitiful specimen of sodden human dejection. At any rate, that was the impression I gathered from the look of the driver of the jaunting-car which I had eagerly annexed. To my inquiry as to whether he knew the hotel at which I had arranged to put up, he replied with effusive sympathy: "Know it, Sorr? Faith, I know it well. Jump up, and I'll have ye there in no time." The seat was narrow, but by gripping the rail with one hand and my travelling bag with the other I felt secure. "Howld tight, Sorr," and with a crack of the whip the horse bolted—literally bolted—and the light car swayed and jumped over the monstrous cobble stones in a manner which threatened every moment to catapult me into space. The car slowed down as it met the stream of traffic, and I shall never forget the tone of eager anxiety in the driver's voice as he cast a glance round and hurriedly inquired: "Are ye there, Sorr?" I *was*, by a merciful providence.

On one occasion I attended in some representative capacity a meeting of the Irish Congregational Union held at Belfast, and took advantage of an interval of rest in the deliberations of the Assembly to share with two or three others the delight of a row on the beautiful lake close at hand. Our boatman, a grey genial stalwart, was full of the lore of the lake. "Ye see that little chapel beyant there on that island." We did, and said that it looked like an ambiguous ruin of some sort. "No, gentlemen, it's a chapel, sure enough, and if ye had time to go there I could tell ye a story of how it came to be built and why it was forsaken that would put the fear of God into the heart of a heathen." The old man's

hand fluttered across his chest in the sign of the Cross as he muttered, "The Lord betune us and harm."

"Is this water good to drink?" I asked him presently. "Is it dhrink ye said? Och! there's no betther wather in the woorld, but to taste it at its best (with a sly look at our clerical collars) ye must dilute, Sorr, wid a ginerous dhrop of rale whisky."

"Tell me, are there many salmon in the lake?" "Well, Sorr there used to be; ye only had to dhrop your line in anywhere, and ye were sure of a bumping basket. That was in the time of the owld landlord, but whin a new one tuk over the eshtate what did he do but put a tax, a heavy tax, mind ye, on every rod fishing the lake." The old man lowered his voice to an awed whisper. "An' ye may believe it or no, but more and betoken, the devil a salmon has been in the lake from that day to this!" (Ireland was convulsed at the time by the "No Rent" agitation, and the intelligent and sympathetic fish had joined the League.)

The most interesting of my visits to Ireland was made under rather peculiar circumstances, which give me, perhaps, my only justification for writing this article. It was in that dark and troubled time which followed on the defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and the advent to power of an Administration pledged to resist the Irish demand for self-government with all the resources at their command. The régime of remorseless Coercion whipped all Ireland into fury. The Government justified its policy of legalized violence on the plea that it was engaged in suppressing a rebellion which, if it succeeded, would spell the disintegration of the British Empire. Many of the arguments used in support of that alarming contention sound curiously wilful and absurd to-day, but they carried weight then—sufficient weight to blind many, very many, people to the horrors being perpetrated upon the harassed tenantry of Ireland. People who were quite willing to support the Executive in the use of all the resources of the Crown to suppress rebellion began to feel, however, some scruple about the employment of the British Army as a rent collector for Irish landlords! It was discovered that when the rent demanded was not forthcoming evictions were being carried out on a scale and with a pitilessness which would have been impossible but for the protection afforded to the landlords' agents by a cordon of British bayonets. Inevitably the question arose: "Was the demand for Home Rule inspired (as was confidently asserted and too frequently believed) by a hatred which would fiercely welcome England's humiliation and ruin, or was that admitted hatred a mere by-product of the sense of helplessness which the Irish felt at being powerless to abolish an economic injustice imposed and maintained by the authority of the British Crown?"

I have Irish blood in my veins, and from my childhood have mixed freely with Irish people, and I have never been able to convince

myself that the trouble between English and Irish was either religious or racial in its origin. I was of the opinion that, if no other cause of difference complicated the position, Irish and English might become as firm friends as were the English and Scotch or Welsh. I expressed that conviction on scores of platforms in the course of the Home Rule controversy, and when a chance presented itself of testing the soundness of the conviction by adequate investigation on the spot I welcomed the opportunity. A great many people in London felt that the real source of the trouble in Ireland was economic, and that before deciding to the contrary it would best serve the interests of all concerned if the agrarian problem as it existed in Ireland were closely examined by an independent body of investigators. Eleven men were ultimately selected for the task, on the explicit understanding that their investigations should be open and impartial, and that in due course they would report the result of their labours. I was asked to serve on that commission, and, although my hands were overfull of work at the time, with the concurrence of my Church, I agreed. I was appointed chairman of the delegation, and the report we submitted on our return to London is before me as I write. Before entering on our duties we carefully planned our method of procedure. We were plentifully provided with introductions to suitable people, and on arrival at Dublin were welcomed by a distinguished member of the Irish Bar, Dr. Counsel, whose help in legal and other ways proved invaluable.

We divided ourselves into three sections—one to travel north, one west, and one south—each under a recognized leader. I had to remain behind in Dublin for a short time to make certain arrangements and to secure certain official consents essential to the success of our purpose. Under Dr. Counsel's guidance I interviewed many persons of high social standing representing all shades of political opinion. Among those whom I consulted was Serjeant Hempel, a gentleman of high legal distinction, whose studious moderation I found to be a matter of national faith. I also received great assistance from the Attorney-General, the ex-Solicitor-General of Ireland, and, indeed, from many other eminent members of the Bar. They helped me to understand aspects of the problem we had come to study which were of the utmost importance to us in the course of our investigations. It was imperative that I should secure from the Irish Secretary of State formal authorization to witness any evictions which might be executed along our various routes of travel, essential because many of those evictions, and generally those of the most painful kind, were conducted behind a military screen which only a few specially authorized Press representatives were permitted to penetrate. I could not see the State Secretary on the day on which I called at the White House in Phoenix Park, but I saw his private secretary, and explained the nature of our mission to him,

and in due course received the following official document from Sir West Ridgeway :

I am pleased to say that your request to be afforded facilities for acquiring information from the local officers of the Government will be acceded to, and instructions with this object have been accordingly sent to the Divisional Magistrates, who are the proper officers for the purpose, and whose names and addresses are appended.

It is not possible within the limits of space allotted to me to give any detailed history of our investigations, nor, indeed, is it necessary. The story of any single estate may be taken, in all essential particulars, as identical with what would be found true of any other estate in Ireland.

I rejoined my three colleagues who had gone north at Drogheda in order that we might attend some evictions which were then taking place on the estate of Lord Massarene. It was a heartbreaking experience. Many of the tenants had blockaded themselves in their fragile cabins and only surrendered possession when the battering-ram of the landlord's agent had pounded the place into a useless ruin. It was raining hard, and it was piteous to see the mother with her group of terrified children crouching around the poor pile of broken furniture thrown out on the roadside. One little fellow had been injured when the door of the cabin had been battered in, and was clasped to his sorrowful mother's heart. The husband, a powerfully built man, stood there by his family, erect, rigid, sullen, and bitter. I attempted a word of sympathy. He shook off my hand from his shoulder and in a tone of scorn exclaimed : " Yes, ye may break up our poor home, and ye may hurt and starve our childher, but there is one thing ye can never do : ye can never break our spirit, as ye'll find out one day."

Multiply that scene by literally thousands, and you can gain some impression of what was taking place all over Ireland.* If the rents demanded were economically just, something might be said in mitigation of the attitude of the Irish landlords towards their tenants, but on very few of the estates we visited could it be said by anyone acquainted with the facts. I had selected for my special attention the Shirley Estate, Monaghan, and the later history of the estate was told me by a venerable and beloved Canon of the Roman Catholic Church who had spent most of his life in that district. Canon Hoey was as magnificent a type of Irishman as it has ever been my good fortune to meet : massive in build, suggesting a rugged strength of conviction and character which, if it repelled flippant insincerity, was lighted up with a gay lightheartedness, and a tender-

* All this but serves to show how Lord John Russell's words, spoken fifty years before (in 1837), received continual illustration through the century—and afterwards : " Your oppression taught them to hate, your concessions to brave you ; you exhibited to them how scanty was the stream of your bounty, and how full the tribute of your fear."—ED.

ness of protective sympathy which won one's instant trust and confidence.

My first introduction to Hoey was at a public inquiry into the truth or otherwise of the oft-repeated statement that in districts where the Protestants were in a helpless minority they were intimidated and often persecuted by the Catholic majority. The courtroom was crowded and I had to sit there for hours in the stifling atmosphere listening to a long string of witnesses, presented by the worthy Canon. Their evidence shattered what they then described as, and I became convinced was in that instance, an odious charge. The Canon thought I was looking tired and exhausted, and indeed I was nearly washed out. He arose, and, in a voice of impressive solemnity, announced: "Gentlemen, the time has come for his reverence and I to be at our devotions." The people stood up respectfully as we filed out. Arrived at his house, he clapped his hands on my shoulders and cheerily demanded: "Wha'll ye have to dhrink?" I reluctantly admitted that I didn't drink, and, in a tone of bewildered surprise, he exclaimed: "It's good sound whisky, and has niver paid a pinny to the Excise." Disappointed, he suggested as a weak alternative wine, and seemed quizzically incredulous when I assured him I was a total abstainer.

As we talked, I could see that he had not yet learnt to trust an Englishman. He suddenly looked searchingly into my eyes and burst out: "I hope you men are not here to deceive our credulous people with false assurances of sympathy? Can I trust you? Do you mean what you say? Oh! but your countrymen have so often betrayed the hopes they have roused!" I felt, as few Englishmen could help feeling, ashamed and pained at the justice of the man's poignant suspicion. We became cordial friends and remained so till the end of his days. He told how thirty years earlier the Shirley estate was "remodelled" and 1,700 tenants were evicted. "Men, women, and children," he said, "were cast forth in the bitter wintry weather, without shelter and without food. The workhouse was speedily crowded with sick and dying; sheds were hastily run up to accommodate the overflow, and the shadow of death hung over the mute and despairing people." He told me he would never forget his first Mass on the estate. "It was in the workhouse, and many of them, emaciated and dying, were unable to kneel." The tears were running down the old saint's face. "I will never forget the deep and awful curse which desecrated that sacred hour—a curse upon the name of Shirley."

"Were the people allowed to die?" I asked. "Indeed, they were. I myself have seen five dead children laid out in the white snow under the wintry hedge." "What became of the survivors?" "Emigrated," he replied. "It paid the landlord to invest £3 in sending them off the estate rather than keep them there as a charge

on the Poor Rate. I remember sending out that winter sixty of the finest Irish girls that an Irishman ever looked at," and the old man's voice broke when he added : " Ten of them only entered service ; fifty of them died as common prostitutes on the streets."

That for the past. In the present I found that some hundreds of eviction notices had been served on the unfortunate tenants. A few had been evicted, but the greater number were struggling on to avert, if possible, the greatest catastrophe which can overtake the Irish peasant. Was that possible ? Where was the money to come from ? For the answer to that question I obtained the assistance of two Justices of the Peace and the Dean and clergy of Carrickmacross. I found that through the National Bank of Ireland there had passed *in six weeks* 200 cheques of the average value of £5, through the Ulster Bank 350 cheques, and through the Post Office by registered letter an average of ten money orders a day throughout the whole of that month of suspense. Where did the money come from ? " From America," replied those in a position to know, and I verified the statement by a pile of letters, most of which are still in my possession. The medical officer of the district assured me that the tenants were so poor that they were not only unable to pay the rent of their holdings without the help of their relatives in America, but they were half starved by the lack of sufficient food, having to live almost entirely on potatoes and Indian meal. They could not afford to use their own oatmeal, it was too precious ; and if sometimes they had a morsel of bacon, it was not Irish, but some cheap foreign bacon imported for the purpose. The priest who was riding with me over the estate told me that all the produce I saw went to the landlord in the form of rent. I inquired of the local doctor, and he assured me that of the 2,000 tenants on the estate, not more than a hundred could " afford to kill a chicken for an invalid." A part of the Shirley estate was let out in what were called " Town Holdings," which were held under what was known as the " Ulster Custom," supposed to secure permanent occupancy and right of free sale. Four of the tenants holding under the " Ulster Custom," Mr. Phelan, Justice of the Peace ; Mr. John O'Hagan, Chairman of the Town Commissioners ; Mrs. Callan, a widow, and Mr. James Macdonald, the principal people in the town of Carrickmacross, had been served with notices of eviction. All these tenants had expended large sums of money, in the aggregate £3,200, in improving the properties, under the impression that they were secure against confiscation by the landlord. Legally they could sell the value of the improvements they had made, but they possessed no legal right to remain in possession after the time fixed in the notice of eviction. Why were they being driven out ? They owed no rent. I saw Mr. Shirley and put that question to him. He had no answer except that they had offended him by not exerting

their influence to protect him against the open disrespect of his unfortunate tenantry. "What would *you* do if a man insulted your wife, or allowed her to be insulted, as she passed down the street"? he asked. "Most probably knock him down, but I would not rob him," I rejoined.

The conditions under which land was held at that time were so unjust that the occupiers and users of the land lived under the shadow of a constant terror of eviction and confiscation. Much water has flowed under the bridges since then. The Ireland of to-day is not the Ireland we had to deal with thirty years ago. A new day has dawned, and if the dawn is not so bright as one could wish, if the lingering night clouds are still too dense to allow the full radiance of the dawn to be seen and felt, the sun has risen, and the rest is sure. An Ireland that is free to govern itself may have first to learn what self-government means; but, left to themselves, the people will work out their own salvation, even if the process involve much justifiable fear, and much unavoidable suffering. Left to themselves and the versatile genius of their race, the Free State of Ireland may be trusted to achieve for itself a worthy future, and win for itself a large and warm place in the hospitable hearts of the federation of equals which we call the British Empire.

Whilst looking through the bulky notebook in which I find entered as many of the incidents and impressions as I deemed worth preserving of my experiences on the commission about which I have been gossiping, I was surprised to find how through all those impressions, some of them very sad and not a few simply tragical, there glowed a steady and irrepressible shimmer of Irish wit and humour. It made me think of the soft light of a glow-worm puncturing the gloom of a dark night. There are dozens of stories, some of them no doubt venerable chestnuts, but so subtly appropriate to the circumstances in which I first heard them that they possess all the charm of spontaneous gaiety. When I returned to Dublin, on our way home, I dined with Mr. Sullivan, who was known as the poet of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He was then Mayor of Dublin, and I was telling him of the extraordinary expedients adopted by some of the crofters on the rocky west coast to extend the cultivable area of their meagre holdings. They brought up from the shore innumerable creel loads of seaweed, and built a stack over some barren rocky surface. When the mass was sufficiently dry, they set fire to it, and when the ground had become red, poured volumes of water upon it, with the result that the hard stony surface became pulverized, and with the addition of lime and earth brought from a distance, became capable of useful cultivation. I told him of our surprise and disgust when we found that the land so reclaimed was appropriated by the landlord, and the unfortunate tenants compelled to pay rent for its use! "I'll tell you a story about one

of those estates," came the comment, quick as a flash. "The landlord couldn't get his rents, and he engaged a well-known bully of an agent to go out west and collect his dues at all costs. He went for a consideration, and in less than a fortnight returned to his employer here, a pitiable spectacle—his own mother wouldn't have known him under the bruises and bandages which disfigured and concealed his features. "Have ye got the rent?" asked the landlord. "Is it the rent ye want? Sure, the minute I mentioned it to the savages they pelted the whole estate at me!" It would be impossible to summarize the whole situation more perfectly.

Or this, which they told me in criticism of some incautious generalization I had ventured on the awkward brittleness of the Irish temper: "Well, we had a doctor here in Dublin who was as famous for his skill and irascibility as for his warmheartedness. He had had an anxious day's work, and had crept off to bed dead tired and irritable. He was in the middle of his beauty sleep when he was aroused by the clamour of his surgery bell, and through the speaking tube came a voice praying that he would come at once, as one of his patients was in a desperate condition. He rolled out of bed, dressed, and banging the street door behind him, stepped out into the cold dark night. His foot struck something, and he found himself sprawling on a heap of flints. Angrily he demanded of a workman standing by: "Who put the stones there?" "I put them there, Sorr." "What did you put them there for?" "To mend the road, Sorr; where else would I put them but where they are wanted?" "Put them in Hell!" snapped the bruised doctor. "Wouldn't they be more out of your way in the other place?" in a tone of gentle reproof. The smiling doctor forgot his rage.

Or this, told me in the Law Courts by a lawyer who was showing me round: "You have heard, no doubt, many stories of the wit of the Irish Bar. Did you ever hear this about Curran and Judge Fitzgerald? It happened in one of our small country town courts. Close to the court was the pound, in which straying or trespassing animals were locked up. Curran was eloquently pleading the cause of his client when an ass brayed. "One at a time, if you please, Mr. Curran, one at a time," said the judge, and Curran smilingly subsided. Shortly afterwards, when the judge was delivering his summing up, the loud braying of the ass was resumed. Curran, with a look of demure sympathy, remarked: "Does it sthrike ye'lordship that there's a great echo in this Court?" Or this, told me in defence of the genuine spontaneity of Irish humour: Two commercial travellers were engaged in a discussion of Irish wit and humour. One of the two, a recently imported "Knight of the Road," was contending that the so-called wit and humour of the Irish was nothing more than the wit and humour of the English, Scotch and Welsh dressed up in the Irish brogue. "Try it on the first person you meet crossing

the bridge to-night." Crossing the bridge that night the first person he met was a shabbily clad woman with a shawl covering her head and shoulders. "For the love of God, Sorr, will ye help a poor lonely widder?" she chanted as she ambled along by his side. "Sure, I am in great disthress; I have three children at home widout bite or sup, and me poor husband lying at the point of death." The man thrust his hand into his pocket, as if fishing for a coin. "May the blessing of all the saints follow ye!" she said. He withdrew his hand, fingering a silver matchbox, and passed on. The woman stood still, her face distorted with disappointment, and she added witheringly, "And never overtake ye, ye shpalpeen."

Or this — What's that? Your bell, Mr. Editor? All right, I was just finishing. Just one for your edification. The Dublin theatre was crammed with an excited audience to hear and see the famous actress, Mrs. Siddons. Amongst the audience was a country farmer who had brought his wife, because, as he remarked, "Ye need and deserve a night's amusement." The great actress dominated her audience from the first moment of her appearance, and as the play soared to its final tragedy, there was scarcely a dry eye in the hushed multitude. Our farmer glanced from the shelter of his ample and damp pocket handkerchief towards his wife, to find her sobbing. It was too much. He could bear no more. In a voice broken with catches he bellowed out: "Och, ye long-nosed thing! do ye call this a mighty divarsion?"

Seriously, Mr. Editor, is it? Only don't blame me, I warned ye, and I'll promise not to do it agin.

C. FLEMING WILLIAMS.

OUR PREACHING OF JESUS AND THE MYSTERY OF HIS LIFE :

It seems to be generally agreed that the war was more than an incident. It marked the close of a great and distinctive epoch of human achievement. It was an epoch apparently of progress unparalleled in history, an epoch of immense material prosperity and scientific development. Yet the seeming outcome of it all has been the bankruptcy of half Europe, and the relapse of much of its population to conditions worse than those before the epoch opened.

There are those who say that a like story has to be told of the achievements of Christian scholarship in the epoch now closed. Its distinctive purpose was the attempt to rediscover the historic Jesus and make Him intelligible to modern men. Two decades or so ago many scholars believed that the historic Jesus had indeed been rediscovered, and, in Germany especially, many lives of Jesus and studies in His teaching and character appeared which portrayed a Jesus whose teaching was genial and modern, and whose life and character could now be understood. The influence of such books has been very great, for, within and without our Churches, are many to whom the Christ of dogma is unintelligible and unattractive. Yet such are not irreligious or unchristian. Speak to them of the human Jesus, the first true believer in God the Father, and you win at once their interest. They feel the fascination of His character. They give Him more than admiration. They see in Him the greatest of all teachers, the noblest of the sons of men. Beyond this they will not go. The Christ of the creeds does not appeal to them. The Jesus of the Gospels they love and feel they know. We seem as preachers to be in a strange dilemma. It is the Jesus of the Gospels who to-day fascinates so many, and yet, in the recent judgment of some of our most competent scholars, this so-called Jesus of the Gospels is not the historic Jesus, but the construction of the modern mind. The quest of the historic Jesus, which was the distinctive work of Christian scholarship in the epoch now closed, has ended in failure. Jesus is still to us an enigma, unknown, unknowable.

I

Is such a conclusion necessary? If so, it seems a sad tragedy. We should have, then, to confess that the richest period of Christian research has ended in disillusionment, for it was the boast and glory of Protestant theology in this epoch that it did try to understand Jesus and construe God through Him.

The epoch opened with Schleiermacher's monumental work,

* A paper read at a Cheshunt College Reunion, July 1923.

The Christian Faith, published just over a century ago. Here, at last, the creative experience of Luther found its appropriate expression, and we have a truly Protestant theology, relying, not on the authority of creeds or councils, but on the unique and divine consciousness of Jesus, which is shared and can be known through the believing community of the Church. Although Schleiermacher founded no school, the whole of this epoch bears the impress of his work, for its most significant task has been the attempt to rediscover Jesus and to base all theology upon Him. That attempt received new impetus and meaning from the Ritschlian school, for Ritschl brought men back again from the phantasies of speculation to the great religious fact of the Gospel, the revelation of God in Christ, and the Church's appropriation of that revelation by Christian faith. Christ, as the Founder of the Kingdom of God, was, he taught, perfectly adequate to His vocation as Revealer and Redeemer. Christ thus does for us God's work. He has the "value" to us of God, and Ritschl meant what he said. The fact of Christ's Godhead he accepted. Its implicates he refused fully to face. We find a similar position, expressed with an emotional fervour strange to Ritschl's temperament, in that great classic of Christian experience, Herrmann's *Communion of the Christian with God*. Not through Christ alone, but in Christ, God is revealed. In the historic Christ we reach God, and are reached by Him. But it is hard to accept a fact, and yet leave it not only unexplained, but unrelated; and whereas some Ritschlians (e.g. Julius Kaftan and Haering) passed from the acceptance of the fact of Christ's Godhead to a cautious exploration of its implicates, others minimized the fact, and substituted for the confession of Christ's Godhead a recognition of His unique religious importance.

Ritschl himself had deprecated any attempt to write the life of Jesus, for such an attempt "implies the surrender of the conviction that Jesus belongs to a higher order than all other men." Yet it was from his school especially that there came those genial presentations of the life and teaching of Jesus which captured the heart of many modern men and seemed to place Jesus right in our own age. As we read some of the Ritschlian accounts of Christianity we might almost think that Jesus was a Neo-Kantian. The Kingdom of God He preached is depicted as the "highest good," the *summum bonum* of the moral reason. It is the sphere in which God is trusted as Father and obeyed as King. It is the highest good, the final goal, not of the individual only, but of the race. Ritschl himself was not a "liberal,"¹ but many of his followers were, but with a

¹ The word "liberal" is used so vaguely in English theology as to be often little more than a cant term. I use the word in its definite and German sense as opposed to "Positive," i.e. as opposed to the recognition that in Christ we have a revelation given us which is normative and final, although our understanding of it may be incomplete and transitory.

liberalism infused with a devout and Christian spirit. Whereas the earlier lives of Jesus had often been rationalist and offensive to Christian faith, from these liberal Ritschlians there came accounts of His life and teaching obviously inspired by Christian enthusiasm. We think of such books as Harnack's *What is Christianity?* or Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, or Bousset's *Jesus*—to name only those which in their English translations have been widely influential. All are books of rare charm and power. They are written by men who gladly confess how much they owe to Jesus, but they tend to make of Jesus, not so much the object of faith, as its first example. Jesus leads us to God, and only He can fully do so. It is through Him that we believe in God the Father. Our faith in God in this sense rests in Him, but in this sense only; and passages in the Gospels which speak of Him as mediator, or as the object of our faith, they tend to excise or explain away. The developments of later thought were often held to be the work of Paul, and the distinction was thus made between the Religion of Jesus of the first three Gospels and the Gospel of Christ which Paul and the later Church proclaimed.

Such a view naturally led to vigorous protests. Thus Kähler urged that we need not be unduly concerned with the details of the words and works of Jesus. The only gospel of which history speaks is the gospel, not of the supreme teacher of the race, but of the Christ, preached as the crucified and risen Lord. But Kähler's protest fell on deaf ears, and a generation ago this liberal view of Jesus seemed as secure as it was popular. It was a view, devout, gracious, and modern. It made of Jesus the supreme religious hero of the race, but it would not call Him God, and it refused to face Kähler's objection that so to trust a man, however great and however heroic, was, if He were man alone, idolatry.¹ Confidently writers of this school bade us see in the proclamation of God as Father, and of the infinite worth to Him of every human soul, the whole of the message of Jesus, and the claim was widely made that from the Gospel of St. Mark there had been derived a picture of Jesus intelligible in itself and acceptable to modern men.

Such a confidence to-day sounds strange and naïve. The liberal reconstruction of the life of Jesus is now seen to have been obtained by excising or explaining away elements in the Gospel story which refused to be modernized, and by supplying interpretations of His actions which are lacking in the Synoptic texts. Scepticism tends to further scepticism, and arbitrariness is self-destructive. With justice Wrede complained in a book published in 1901² that the scientific life of Jesus was really a piece of psychological guesswork; he himself sought to prove that it was only after Jesus was believed to have risen that the disciples thought of Him as the Messiah.

¹ Kähler, *Angewandte Dogmen*, II. pp. 71 and 97.

² *The Messiah Secret in the Gospels* (*Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*).

His book is primarily a study of Mark's Gospel. Arbitrary as his treatment is, it is only the same sort of arbitrariness as the liberal scholars used. His book makes of Mark's Gospel, no longer a historical record, but a book written in the interests of a dogmatic theory. If we held his view it would be impossible to suppose that any real knowledge of the life of Jesus can be derived from this, our earliest Gospel. After scepticism such as this, it is little wonder that when Drews in 1909 revived the theory that Jesus never lived, he found for his fantastic view a wide hearing, and the fierce fury with which he was attacked by liberal scholars seemed to show that they had grown uneasy at their own construction.

Still more damaging to the liberal view of Jesus has been the eschatological interpretation of Him. So long ago as 1888 Baldensperger showed that the Jews in the time of our Lord looked not so much for an earthly kingdom as for a supernatural manifestation of the "age to come," and Baldensperger sought, not to ignore or excise the Apocalyptic elements in the Gospels, but to relate to them the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. The book was carefully and judiciously written, and perhaps lacked influence just because of its moderation and restraint.¹ In 1892 appeared the manifesto of the extreme Apocalyptic school, the little book on *The Preaching of Jesus on the Kingdom of God*,² by Johannes Weiss. When the book appeared, Johannes Weiss was only twenty-nine years old, and the book lacks nothing of the ruthlessness and vigour of youth. It is hard to imagine any picture of Jesus in more violent opposition to that of the liberal school. The Kingdom of God in Christ's preaching is no longer depicted as love to God and service to man, but as the strange and supernatural realm of Jewish Apocalypse. The Kingdom is not something which can increase or be perfected, but a Kingdom destined to come by God's catastrophic act. Every event on earth has its counterpart above. Jesus, believing that in the upper world Satan had already been defeated, looked for the Kingdom's immediate emergence upon earth with Himself as King. There was no need, and no time, for Him to delay over problems of teaching. Quickly must His disciples haste from town to town, lest the Kingdom should appear before it had been adequately announced. When, to His disappointment, He found the people unprepared for the Kingdom's coming, He resolved to give His life as a ransom for many, feeling that His death was a stage in the divine plan and would hasten on His triumphant reappearance, when God would destroy this corrupt and devil-haunted world, and, by this sole act, create a new world over which Jesus and His disciples should have dominion.

¹ *The Self-consciousness of Jesus in the Light of the Messianic Hopes of His Time* (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der Messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*).

² *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes.*

Eight years later Johannes Weiss issued a greatly enlarged edition of his book, in which he admitted that his first sketch had been one-sided and extreme; in its concentration on the eschatological preaching of Jesus it had unduly ignored the ethical and had failed to recognize that there are in the Gospels not only prophecies of the end of this world-order, but sayings and parables of a freshness time can never stale, and moral commands whose inner beauty secure their lasting worth for men.

There is no such adjustment or compromise in the most famous book of the eschatological school, Schweitzer's *From Reimarus to Wrede*, published in 1906. The English translation of this, which appeared in 1910 under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, is too well known for the book to need much description. German critics have complained with justice of its over-confident tone, and have suggested that Schweitzer should have named his book not *From Reimarus to Wrede*, but *From Reimarus to Myself*, for Schweitzer evidently regarded his short sketch of the life of Jesus, published in 1901, as the final word. With excessive scorn he denounces the liberal reconstruction of the life of Jesus. "The Jesus of Nazareth who came forward publicly as the Messiah, who preached the ethic of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, and died to give His work its final consecration, never had any existence. He is a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism, and clothed by modern theology in an historical garb." "The study of the Life of Jesus," he adds, "has had a curious history. It set out in quest for the historical Jesus, believing that, when it had found Him, it could bring Him straight into our time as a Teacher and a Saviour. It loosed the bands by which He had been rivetted for centuries to the strong rocks of ecclesiastical doctrine, and rejoiced to see life and movement coming into the figure once more, and the historical Jesus advancing, as it seemed, to meet it. But He does not stay. He passes by our time and returns to His own." "The historical Jesus is to our time a stranger and an enigma. He belongs to His own age, and cannot be transported into ours." ¹ We cannot call such a view unchristian when we remember that its author was inspired by the Jesus he portrays to abandon most that men held dear that he might give his life to the Christ-like task of alleviating suffering and bringing to the most ignorant and needy deliverance from their bondage to the fear of devils; but we may well feel that if the choice lies between a Jesus of whom we have no certain record and this enigmatic Jesus of the eschatologists, our task as preachers is almost an impossible one. Others, brought up in a different

¹ In the above sketch I have passed over English books (as, e.g., that very attractive statement of the eschatological position, Tyrrell's *Christianity at the Cross-roads*) because in Germany alone has Christian theology in this epoch had a continuity which renders a brief description possible.

tradition, may be content to have an unknown Jesus, and to nourish their souls on the sacred mysteries of the Sacraments. We, who rely more on the Word than on the Sacraments, have no such refuge, and for us the epoch now closed may appear to have brought more loss than gain.

II

Such a verdict seems too hasty. It may be true, as Schweitzer says, that "the results of the research into the life of Jesus are purely negative," yet these negative results themselves have value. If the most assiduous and brilliant scholarship has failed to make permanent its reconstruction of the life of Jesus, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the attempt failed just because it is impossible to construe Jesus in purely human terms. The Jesus of the Gospels is something other than the greatest of all human teachers, the first true believer in God the Father; the Kingdom He proclaimed was much more than a devout philanthropy. It was the emergence into the seen of the powers of the unseen world. It is the Gospel of Christ, not merely this religion of Jesus, that all the Gospels portray. The Gospels themselves are the product of Christian faith, the work of men who already had that full faith which to-day we can equally well call Evangelical or Catholic. And we may not pick and choose from the Gospels just as we please. The Apocalyptic element is there and cannot be explained away. The world-view of Jesus was not that of most modern men, for God, not man, was the source of His hope and the centre of His interest.

With the evanescence of the liberal picture of Jesus, Kähler seems to have been proved right. The only Jesus of whom our records speak is the Christ, proclaimed as the crucified and risen Lord. It is possible to reject this proclamation and regard Jesus as Drs. Foakes-Jackson and Lake appear to do, as an ordinary Jew, with whom, in some mysterious way, a great world-movement got associated, but at least it seems clear that the Jesus whom the New Testament presents is not a hero whom we can modernize, but one inexplicable by human categories. Does that mean we must pass by the earthly life of Jesus and do as Kähler tended to do, speak only of the cradle and the cross and Easter-day? It does not seem to follow. We may well doubt if even Paul was as indifferent to the details of the life of Jesus as many have maintained. A Paul who, travelling with those who had lived with Jesus, did not trouble to inquire about the earthly life of the Lord he served is surely an invention of modern scholars. A more careful reading of his epistles may serve to show how much Paul knew of the words and deeds of Jesus. And for us, too, Jesus of Galilee is surely not so unknown as the eschatologists and some of the orthodox defenders of Christianity maintain. We cannot understand the secret of His inner

life, nor make of Him the hero of a psychological romance. Nor is He to us primarily a teacher, to whose words we can go back in order to find in them immediate guidance in the complex issues of our modern life. Yet some things are clear. We can know something of what He was through what He said and did and through the impression He made on those with whom He lived. We know His utter trust in God, His perfect adequacy to every need, His patience with His disciples, His compassion and His sternness, the strange combination in Him of characteristics which in other men would be incompatible. We know how, when mocked and bleeding, He could remember Peter's need; how, when stretched in agony upon the cross, He could pray for those who nailed Him there, that they might be forgiven, for they knew not what they did. We know enough to use the words of an early disciple and say: "We beheld His glory, full of grace and truth." Yet, for all His graciousness, He could demand from men the severest sacrifice. Quietly He assumed a place to which no other man has a right. He judged sin and forgave it. He spoke as one always equal to His own and others' needs. He could bid all the weary and heavy laden find in Him their yoke and rest.

Apocalyptic terms He used. Evidently they expressed, as nothing else could do, His sense of God's utter power. Yet in using them He transformed their meaning. King He was of the Heavenly Kingdom, but a King who would reveal His kingship not by judgment chiefly, but by service; a King who yet would give His life a ransom for many. The age to come, the Messianic Kingdom, was to Him a present reality. He felt impending on Him the powers of the supernal realm, and He meant His followers to share those powers. It was all unintelligible so long as men's confidence lay not primarily in God, but in gracious teaching, or in the gradual growth of civilization and science and the extension of the amenities of culture. I think we can understand it a little better, now that that confidence is gone. Otherworldly Christ was not, for He had a message for the men of His own time and called them already to share in part in the resources of the Kingdom. Unworldly He was, for to Him the heavenly Kingdom, not the present world-order, was the supreme reality. Yet this unworldliness was less a denial of the world than an affirmation of God, a living of all life, a judging of all values, in the light of God's awful majesty and love. And this is not a phase of teaching now outworn. The Kingdom of God is, and is to come. It is the truth which Paul expressed when he spoke of being "in Christ," and John when he used the phrase "eternal life." Already we are meant to feel the reality of the eternal world, to live as those who find in the eternal their home, for, in time and in eternity alike, is the God made manifest in Jesus Christ.

It is impossible for Christian faith to construe the meaning of Jesus in purely human terms. Hero-worship is idolatry, and in all the universe there is no room for a demigod. The Jesus of whom our records speak was not a mere man, a hero, or a demigod. He was one, "the form of whose life was human; its content was divine."¹ He is presented to us, not as the first true believer in God the Father, but as the object of our faith, indistinguishable in our experience from God Himself. If we accept this conclusion, then there are two consequences important for our preaching.

(1) The word God in itself is little more than an algebraic x . If in Jesus God has been made manifest, then it is in Him that the Christian idea of God gets its meaning. The ideals He taught, the values He revealed, all His character of grace and power—these have final and normative worth. We have the right to urge upon all Christian people their supreme authority. Much may be unclear, but we know that His life and death are the true expression of God's character and rule; that the way He judged of life is the way God judges. And that means we have to try to make of this revelation the standard of our judgment. Trite as this sounds, we know how unwilling men are to judge of life as He judged it, to accept His values and really to trust the God whom He revealed. In a half-God, a religious hero, it might suffice to have a half-faith—to accept this and reject that. It is with no surprise that we find Bousset, the author of one of the loveliest and most popular of the liberal lives of Jesus, remarking, in another book, that Jesus laid too much stress on redemption from the world, and did not proclaim as we moderns do, "the duty of self-preservation, self-assertion, and strife for world-dominion."² We have a right to be surprised when we find an orthodox Lutheran like Seeberg, a man holding the full Christian faith, extolling war as the natural and permanent expression of a country's increase in power,³ and condemning, as leading to inevitable hypocrisy, the Calvinistic attempt to apply the law of Christ to public life.⁴ I have taken these illustrations from recent German writers because Germans are more outspoken than we are in the expressions of such views, but in England, too, such views are common within as without the Churches. Yet it is useless to call Jesus Lord, Lord, and not try to do the things which He commanded. We may not call Christ God and leave our standards of judgment unchristianized, unrelated to the Christian Gospel. Orthodoxy is a mockery and a lie unless it carries with it the endeavour to obey.

(2) There is a further consequence. If in Jesus we have God

¹ R. Seeberg, *Zur Systematischen Theologie*, II. p. 251.

² *Das Wesen der Religion*, 1906 edit., p. 208.

³ *System der Ethik*, 1920 edit., p. 261.

⁴ *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 1920 edit., Vol. IV., Part II, p. 643.

manifested, then we owe Him not praise alone, nor obedience, but humble adoration. As one of the most influential books of recent years points out,¹ the distinctive element of religious experience is awe, the spontaneous response to the manifestation of the Holy. We have all been helped, as preachers, by the modern endeavours to understand the human life of Jesus. Many in our Churches are nearer to the half-faith of those who sought to follow Jesus in His lifetime than they are to the full faith of those who, after the resurrection, preached their living Lord. To many a one we have to say: "If you see in Jesus just the perfect man, the first true believer in God the Father, act up to what you know, try to trust the God whom He revealed, try to judge of life by His values and to obey the ideals He taught." Only so can many come to a sense of deeper need and a fuller faith. And for some even this may be sufficient. Jesus reveals Himself in many a way, and many are healed who only touch the hem of His garment. But we wrong the gospel we are called to preach if we speak as if its ethical and rational elements could ever exhaust its meaning. Even when Jesus was on earth the disciples saw in Him more than a supreme teacher. They felt in Him the manifestation of the Divine; between Him and them lay the awful difference of the holy and the "profane."² That is a lesson we need much to learn. One reason why the Church has lost its hold on men is that it has made too much of men, and had man, not God, in the centre of its interests. The love of God becomes incredible when we speak as if it were obvious, and Christ Himself ceases to attract if we dwell too much on His attractiveness. If Christ be indeed the manifestation of God, then we cannot rightly preach Him except as we feel the wonder and the surprise of the Gospel we proclaim. We have to offer Him to men, not for their obedience only, but for their awe and adoration. And such worship is not idolatry. For He is not another between us and God. He is indistinguishable in our experience from God Himself, one with that Holy God who by the strange paradox of grace has been revealed to us as Father.

SYDNEY CAVE.

¹ Otto, *Das Heilige (The Holy)*, which, published in 1916, quickly ran through ten editions, and is still apparently the centre of interest in German theology. An English account of it is to be found in an article by the present writer in the *Expositor* (February 1923): "The Paradox of Religion: A Study in Otto's *The Holy*."

² Otto quotes in illustration Luke 5⁸, Mark 10³¹.

THE ETERNAL CONFLICT

IN the little read book of *Ezra* is to be found an interesting account of a foundation stone laying ceremony. A nation has returned from exile, and the Lord's house is to be re-built. Young and old are gathered together in great numbers, and the Hebrew chronicler describes the scene with a touch worthy of Herodotus. The old people have their eyes and their thoughts toward the past; memories of long ago, of all that they had heard about the old Temple, crowd in upon them, and they cannot refrain from weeping. The young people have their eyes and thoughts to the future; they dream of the magnificent building that is to arise, and expectancy and hope fill their hearts with joy. And so rejoicing and lamentation are intermingled—"the sound of joy cannot be discerned from the sound of the weeping of the people."

Here is vividly illustrated the eternal conflict between age and youth—a conflict that lies deep down in the nature of things. It is inevitable that young and old should look differently on life and all the problems it brings. Youth is forward-looking; for it life has a grand spaciousness; three score years and ten is an eternity, and all things seem possible; every door and avenue seem open, and the mountain tops very near. So, with great confidence and great ignorance, Youth starts out with its love of experiment and adventure, desirous of continual change and novelty, and eager to make trial of life and all in it. But Age has tried life and is looking back. For its habits are settled and ideas are fixed; all doors are closed or are fast closing; limitations have been recognized and accepted, and if it sees the mountain tops, it knows they are inaccessible.

On the one side the appeal is to the future, to faith, progress, and adventure; on the other it is to the past, to authority, tradition, and order. The young man says: "Let us try this new thing to improve the world;" the old replies: "Let us stick to what we have; it is not very bad, and change will probably be for the worse."

Such is the conflict. And it is eternal because in the course of the years most of us change sides. We all pay high fees in that good school, experience, and the rash hot-blooded youth of to-day becomes the calm phlegmatic old man of to-morrow. Arnold Bennett's *Milestones* dramatically illustrates the change that comes over one generation after another. The French proverb says: "If youth only knew; if age only could"; but youth does not know, and age is not able, and so the conflict is ever waged.

It is our lot to live in a time when an element of bitterness has made the conflict very sharp indeed. During the war and since our graduates' and undergraduates' papers have been full of the sarcasm of the young men who fought against the old men "who made the war." The poetry of our Georgians, such as Sassoon and Golding, are full of this spirit, regrettable as it is. In a far different sphere, that of Trade Unionism, exactly the same thing is to be found: the younger men have no place for and no patience with the methods and the spirit of the old-fashioned type of Trade Unionist. Other illustrations are easy to find.

What should be the attitude of Christian people and of the Christian Church to a situation like this? Can they do anything to assuage and mitigate the struggle?

1. Does there not seem to be an excellent opportunity of usefulness for the middle-aged, those who complain that they are in the dull and prosaic period of life? They have not forgotten youth and its dreams, and yet they have begun to feel the restraints of age. They can understand both sides and mediate between them—prevent the collision, keep the peace.

And if we be young or old, knowing the usual faults of our age, we can be on the look out for them and try to avoid them. Youth must beware of its presumption and self-confidence, the folly shown in Rehoboam's words: "My little finger is thicker than my father's loins"; age must avoid its assumption that it knows all, its tendency to condescension, the contemptuous spirit which made Saul say: "Inquire whose son *this stripling* is."

And both must be increasingly tolerant. Young men must cease to sneer at their fathers as old fogeys, antiquated and ante-diluvian, and have more reverence and more respect for age. Our young writers would be well advised to stop ridiculing the Victorian age until they give signs of producing something one-tenth as lasting. Youth need not forsake its love of experiment, but it must recognize the limitations of its knowledge, and measure aright the debt it owes to those who have gone before. And Age must remember never to ridicule children or young people because they make the mistakes of youth; it must have more regard for the powers and possibilities of youth, and remember that, while you cannot put old heads on young shoulders, wisdom is not limited to years.

Why should a man whose blood is hot within him
Sit like his grandsire cut in alabaster?

And older people might remember that when they use the argument: "Wait until you grow older; you'll know a lot better then," it is always considered that the production of this argument is equivalent to a confession of defeat.

If at any time the Christian patriarch is tempted to be impatient

with youth, let him remember that there is one thing always on youth's side, and that is that Jesus of Nazareth was never an old man. Can we not hear sometimes the words of those who listened to this young idealist scarcely out of his twenties: "Whence hath this man letters—this youth from the carpenter's bench? He'll learn better in time. He'll outgrow these idealistic notions. Wait until he knows more about human nature." And so on.

Young and old might learn from Samuel Johnson:

"Every old man complains of the depravity of the world, of the petulance and insolence of the rising generation. He recounts the decency and regularity of former times, and celebrates the discipline and sobriety of the age in which his youth was passed; a happy age which is now no more to be expected, since confusion has broken in upon the world and thrown down the boundaries of civility and reverence. . . . He that would pass the latter part of his life with honour and decency, must, when he is young, consider that he shall one day be old; and remember, when he is old, that he has once been young. In youth he must lay up knowledge for his support, when his powers of action shall forsake him; and in age forbear to animadvert with vigour on faults which experience only can correct."

2. Is there, not, too a magnificent opportunity for the Church to show that in Christ Jesus there is neither old nor young? In Him all distinctions were to be obliterated, all are fellow-workers.

And yet it seems to be very difficult for youth to get a proper share of office and responsibility in Church life. There are many Churches where it is an unwritten rule, equally valid with the Ten Commandments, that a deacon is an elder—not in the technical sense of the word either. And the wider the Congregational institution we examine, the less recognition and regard there appears to be of the claims of youth—and the same is true, in a measure, of all denominations. There are, of course, some explanations of this. The young layman has rarely time to spare from business to attend denominational assemblies, and still less for committees. The minister must spend ten years getting known in his county before he is elected to the Council, and then often a long period must elapse ere he is invited to serve in any important sphere. In this, ultimately, is to be found the reason why our denomination is always so "safe," why it never risks anything or launches out into the deep, why it is about ten times as cautious as—the Archbishop of Canterbury! Once upon a time someone asked in the Council for the average age of our Young People's Committee. It probably worked out about fifty-five! There is a deeply-rooted conviction that people about this age are young. Indeed, it is reported that when more representation for youth was claimed

on a committee, it was met by substituting a worthy son for a worthy father—and the son was fifty-two!

Think of Congregationalism's representation on the Federal Council of the Free Churches—a most important delegation which has great influence in shaping policy, especially in regard to reunion, overlapping, and other matters vitally affecting the future. Surely this is a place where it is essential that youth should be adequately and directly represented, but we suspect it is true that up to a short time ago the only Congregational representative under fifty was the new Secretary of the Union.

Here then lies the problem for organized Congregationalism—the task to which the new Secretary must set himself—to combine in the work the wisdom and experience of the fathers with the energy and vision of the sons. Nobody will suspect us of undervaluing the devoted service of men ripened by years of observation and fellowship; the articles that have appeared in our journal from Dr. Arnold Thomas, Dr. Rowland, Major-General Greely, Mr. Fleming Williams, and others show that we recognize the worth of all that age has to teach us. But there is a place for youth as well, and without youth our witness inevitably lacks the fire and force it might possess. Here is a problem that is far more important, and far more real, than all this futile talk about North and South, Lancashire and London. North and South are alike sound denominationally; all that they ask is that Congregationalism shall go ahead—and go ahead it will when young and old are united in its service.

Does not the New Testament offer a splendid example for us in the relationship between Paul and Timothy—the veteran apostle bearing the scars of many fights, and the timid tyro, who has just put on the armour? Timothy's affection, reverence, and respect for Paul are plain, and how fine is the way in which Paul looks on Timothy—we sometimes think it the finest thing we know about him. There is not the slightest trace of condescension or patronage. We never read of Paul saying: "Wait until you're as old as I am. You've a lot to learn yet, my boy; you'll be a lot wiser when you've seen more of life." Instead of that, we have: "Timothy, my fellow-labourer; Paul and Timothy, fellow-labourers"—age and youth joined together in warring a good warfare.

So it should be always with the followers of Christ Jesus; within His Church the eternal conflict can be assuaged, and His Kingdom will come when old and young together work and witness for Him.

EDITOR.

FRANCIS THOMPSON

THE literature of the nineties has the reputation associated with the term *fin de siècle*. The period was the end of an epoch. The faiths and enthusiasms of the great Victorians were dead. In the reaction from their earnest idealism a disillusioned generation had turned to realism and the doctrine of "art for art's sake." Literature was less interested in the eternal than in the passing show, and to be true to life was regarded as more important than to be true to God. Style attuned itself to the altered spirit. The Uranian note died out; exuberance became a fault, and the fine was preferred to the sublime, for the æsthete had taken the place of the prophet.

Yet if this period of scepticism, realism, and æstheticism is remembered by posterity, it will be because of a believer and mystical idealist whose writing is for the most part conspicuously exuberant and grand.

Francis Thompson was a Catholic by temper and by training. He was educated for the Roman priesthood, and only failed to become a priest because his absent-mindedness was held to be too grave a disability. The school authorities recognized that he was a youth of the head-in-air type, and could not know that he would be a poet of the head-in-heaven order. But though Thompson was obviously unfit for the practical work of a priest, his proper place would have been in some contemplative religious order. To all the material aspects of life he was absurdly insensible. Some saints have become paupers by self-discipline, many sinners are paupers by necessity; but Thompson belonged to neither class. He seems to have been a pauper by nature and inclination. When dragged off the streets by the kindly compulsion of Wilfrid Meynell, he still lived for most of his life in the barest of lodgings, and it is characteristic of him that he never possessed a bookcase. But material environment, however sordid, never cramped his mind or dimmed his vision. It was while living as a vagrant that he wrote on dirty scraps of paper his glittering essay on "Paganism Old and New," and while selling matches in the Strand he saw

the traffic of Jacob's ladder
Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross.

To his literary environment Thompson was equally insensible. His verse is reminiscent rather of the sixteenth century than of the end of the nineteenth. It belongs to an age young enough to enjoy in poetry great sounds, great images, and far-fetched conceits.

Thompson in one of his letters contrasts his own poetry unfavourably with the "unclamorous poetry" of Mrs. Meynell, and says hers will live when his "fireworks" are forgotten. For much of Thompson's poetry clamorous is an appropriate epithet: it is as clamorous as a great orchestra where shawms and cymbals, drums and trumpets all have their place. Many of his poems are pageants of imagery and colour, such as a giant artist might paint "with brushes of comet's hair." The poet's mind is restless with passion and fancies. All the crowded glory of the day fails to tire him, and he welcomes night as a "new dawning." "Dusk," says Thompson:—

Dusk grew turbulent with fire before me
And like a windy arras waved with dreams.

His work is full of the fine frenzy which glowed in English literature before frenzy went out of fashion and taste came in with the Restoration.

Illustrations of an Elizabethan opulence of fancy are to be found in almost every poem. The Poppy is a flush left on the bosom of earth by the lips of summer; it is a yawn of fire; with mouth red like a lion's it drinks the blood of the sun. Of the setting sun Thompson says: "Thy visible music blasts make deaf the sky." The sight of little Monica Meynell after his rescue from destitution and illness is

 that earnest of day's light
When, like the back of a gold-mailed Saurian
 Heaving its slow length from Nilotic slime,
The first long gleaming fissure runs Aurorian
 Athwart the yet dun firmament of prime.

The autumn moon, wrapped in haze, is an "ermined Artemis" who has turned a vintager in the "fiery fruited vineyard of the night."

Often again his verse is extravagant with quaint thoughts and tricked with subtleties of speech such as delighted in an earlier age young-hearted, lusty lovers of wit and of words. When for example Thompson sees Mrs. Meynell in a party frock, he says:—

Thou dost to rich attire a grace
To let it deck itself with thee,

and suggests

The violet would thy dusk hair deck
 With graces like thine own unsought.
 Ah! but such place would daze and wreck
Its simple, lowly rustic thought;
For so advanced, dear, to thee
It would unlearn humility!

The stanza in "A Girl's Sin," which describes how the girl, frightened at the greatness of the love on which she has embarked, draws back and rebuffs the lover she has at first encouraged, is studded with examples of Thompson's mastery of euphuistic turns of speech. Phrases such as—

But she forgot not that he was forgot,

You saw she thought he was not thought upon,

Sedulous to be glad

Lest perhaps her foolish heart suspect that it was sad,

are the feats of a great craftsman playing with his strength and skill. Perhaps the most exquisite example of euphuism in that stanza is the line in which Thompson takes the commonplace phrase "to punish him for doing wrong," and by inserting one word expresses the entirely different idea of the girl's perverse impulse to punish the man because she knows she has wronged him :—

And she must punish him for doing him wrong.

But in addition to an exuberance of fancy and a splendid artifice of diction that recall the sixteenth century, Thompson has many contrasting excellencies. On occasion, as in "Daisy," he can be as poignantly plain as Wordsworth. At times he subdues his glittering splendour to the mellow loveliness which belongs to the poetry of tranquillity. Serene Thompson can hardly be, but he can shade the "gusty torch" of his spirit in a grace of form unsurpassed by the poets who move in a serener air. Take, for example, the last lines of "The Poppy." In this poem, which contains the only reference to the part the poppy drug played in his life—he was a victim of the opium habit—Thompson relates how, soon after his rescue, little Monica Meynell, in a fit of childish affection, gave him a poppy plucked from the wayside and told him to "keep it as long as you live." The poet obeys by embalming the poppy in time-defying verses which swing to their close thus :—

The sleep-flower sways in the wheat its head,
Heavy with dreams as that with bread ;
The goodly grain and the sun-flushed sleeper
The reaper reaps, and Time the reaper.

I hang 'mid men my needless head,
And my fruit is dreams, as theirs is bread ;
The goodly men and the sun-hazed sleeper
Time shall reap, but after the reaper
The world shall glean of me, me the sleeper.

Love ! Love ! your flower of withered dream
In leavèd rhyme lies safe, I deem,
Sheltered and shut in a nook of rhyme,
From the reaper man, and his reaper Time.

Love! *I* fall into the claws of Time :
 But lasts within a leavèd rhyme
 All that the world of me esteems—
 My withered dreams, my withered dreams.

The bodily beauty of these lines, the beauty of the pictures and the rhythm, is as fairly wrought as the work of Tennyson, while the spiritual beauty, the passion and the pathos and the reach of the symbolism, is beyond Tennyson's range.

But if the manner and diction of Thompson are often "stiff with the gorgeous embroidery" characteristic of the Elizabethan Renaissance, his eager spirit is the child of the second Renaissance in English poetry, the age of Coleridge, Keats and Shelley. The note of the first Renaissance was an energy of perception and feeling which transfigured and glorified the world of sense and emotion. The note of the second Renaissance was an eagerness of mind and vision which transmuted the realm of sense and emotion into a spirit-world. The heads of the Elizabethans knocked the stars, but their feet seldom left the earth; the feet of Shelley and of Coleridge rarely touch the ground. The ideal world of the earlier poets is an abstraction retaining enough of our every-day world to be easily recognizable. In the world of their poetry the colours are heightened, the music enriched, the wonder enlarged, but it is still the world of familiar hues and tones. The second group of poets sublimate the elements of our material world till all that is familiar has gone. The fairies of Shakespeare, though they speak unearthly music, are still familiar fairies known to frequenters of every English countryside; but the magic casements of Keats "open on . . . fairy lands forlorn" of any human visitant. Though the witches in *Macbeth* incarnate the very spirit of terror, their terrors are homely terrors; across their blasted heath run paths trodden by the kindly feet of men. But no mortal foot has trodden the land of Xanadu,

Where Alph the sacred river ran
 Through caverns measureless to man
 Down to a sunless sea.

Thompson is the heir of both the ages. He uses the exuberant imagery of the first Renaissance to decorate the spirit world of the second. In "The Mistress of Vision," that garden "set in the pathless awe where no star its breath can draw," belongs to the second Renaissance. It is as remote from earth—more remote, indeed, than the pleasure-dome of Khubla Khan. It is a

Garden of enchanting
 In visionary May,

 Thrice-threefold walled with emerald from our
 mortal mornings grey.

But when the poet wants to revive the "symphony and song" of the mystic lady singing "at the garden's core," such an instrument as the dulcimer of an Abyssinian maid falls far below his needs. To describe the music of his dreams Thompson introduces a simile as extravagantly grand as any that sprang from the riotous brains of the Elizabethans. Nothing less than the sound of an earthquaking sunrise will voice "the ancient secrets in that lady's singing found."

East, ah, east of Himalay,
Dwell the nations underground;
Hiding from the shock of day,
For the sun's uprising-sound:

Dare not issue from the ground
At the tumults of the Day,
So fearfully the sun doth sound
Clanging up beyond Cathay;
For the great earthquaking sunrise rolling
Up beyond Cathay.

Lend me, O lend me
The terrors of that sound,
That its music may attend me,
Wrap my chant in thunders round,
While I tell the ancient secrets in that
Lady's singing found.

And this magnificence of style Thompson can use without incongruity because of the magnificence of his vision. The simile of the earthquaking sunrise is not a literary extravagance. It is consonant with his subject. The "ancient secrets" which he is trying to utter in that chant are the truths which will not be revealed in full until the last Apocalypse, when all hearts will quake at the rising of the true Sun in fearful glory.

Mr. George Wyndham, in commenting on Thompson's essay on Shelley, says: "Thompson seems unconscious of any comparison between himself and Shelley as angels ascending the iridescent ladders of sunlit imagination. He follows the 'Sun Treader' with his eye unconscious that his feet are automatically scaling the Empyrean." Between Shelley and Thompson, however, the contrasts are more notable than the comparisons. It is true that both make use in a similar manner of the ladder of imagery to reach abstract heights, but there is a marked difference in the character of their imagery. Thompson says of Shelley: "His thoughts scorch through all the folds of expression; his cloth of gold bursts at the flexures and shows the naked poetry." In Thompson's own poetry the cloth of gold is rarely, if ever, scorched away. However abstract and fine may be the meaning behind the imagery, the images still glow with the colours of a Turner picture.

In a famous passage in "Sister Songs" Thompson looks beyond his own lifetime to the distant day when the little girl to whom the poem is addressed will be grown to womanhood and will find some "subject sovereign" lover; and the poet hopes that though his own heart will then be still, the love preserved in his verse will add to and quicken the love in the heart of the living lover.

Oh! may this treasure-galleon of my verse,
 Fraught with its golden passion, oared with cadent rhyme,
 Set with a towering press of fantasies,
 Drop safely down the time,
 Leaving mine isled self behind it far
 Soon to be sunken in the abysm of seas
 (As down the years the splendour voyages
 From some long ruined and night-submerged star),
 And in thy subject sovereign's havening heart
 Anchor the freightage of its virgin ore;
 Adding its wasteful more
 To his own overflowing treasury.
 So through his river mine shall reach thy sea,
 Bearing its confluent part;
 In his pulse mine shall thrill;
 And the quick heart shall quicken from the heart that's still.

The galleon "set with a towering press of fantasies" is a perfect description of Thompson's power of lifting fairy fancies in billowing splendour one above the other till the masts of his verse are crowded to the top; and the whole passage illustrates this power. Not content with the picture of the golden galleon of verse dropping down the sea of time, leaving the poet islanded in the little space of a mortal lifetime, which that sea will soon overwhelm, Thompson suddenly slips into a two-lined parenthesis another simile which in most poets would furnish a stanza—the simile of his poetry voyaging down the years after his own death like the rays from one of those immeasurably distant stars which are still travelling to the earth long after the star itself is extinct.

In the "Hound of Heaven" Thompson speaks of

The linkèd fantasies in whose blossomy twist
 I swung the earth a trinket at my wrist.

That great boast is not extravagant. The magic line is in itself warrant of the sorcerer's powers. But to Thompson the use of phantasy was no mere play. To him phantasies are the wings by which man rises as near to Heaven as mortals can attain—until that height is reached where "falls the singed song down the sky, even the old Icarian way."

Imagination, he says in one of his letters to Coventry Patmore, is not merely the power of seeing similarities; it is the power of

seeing identities. By this he means the power of seeing one spiritual principle behind divers material manifestations. When, for example, Thompson compares the setting sun to God Himself and says :—

Thou art of Him a type memorial,
Like Him thou hangst in dreadful pomp of blood
Upon thy western rood,

he is not merely making a poetic image such as a Catholic may think picturesque and a Protestant shocking ; he is seeing in the sun that sets in gloom to rise in glory the rhythm of death and resurrection which pulses through all creation. His imagination has apprehended not a mere similarity but an identity.

To take another instance, Thompson sees in the spring not only a symbol of the Risen Christ, but the eternal principle of which both spring and Easter are manifestations. As, for example, from a lighthouse with a revolving shutter there come alternations of darkness and light, though the light within is changeless, so the springs that follow winter, the resurrections that succeed to decay, are flash-lights from the changeless radiance of eternity. The shutter of our mortality moves round, birth follows death, each ending is a new beginning ; but behind the finite cycle of change lies changeless perfection ; at the source of earth's broken melodies is soundless harmony.

For all the past, read true, is prophecy,
And all the firsts are hauntings of some Last,
And all the springs are flash-lights of one Spring.
Then leaf, and flower, and fall-less fruit
Shall hang together on the unyellowing bough ;
And silence shall be music mute
For her surchargèd heart.

Again and again in Thompson's poetry comes the thought that the universe can only be understood if one sees it as a whole, if one sees all the phenomena of time and space as pieces in one great system. At the heart of the system burns the Eternal Light of which we have partial and momentary glimpses through the shutter of our mortal senses.

Man is the swinging wicket set
Between
The unseen and seen.

Lo ! God's two worlds immense
Of spirit and of sense
Wed
In this narrow bed.

For most thinkers, whatever philosophic theories they may have about the oneness of the universe, it is difficult to feel this oneness

with any vividness of apprehension ; but with Thompson the conception is familiar and constant. It is always present to his mind that Heaven is not a far country, but a spirit-world enveloping man as the water envelopes the fish or the air the bird :—

Does the fish soar to find the ocean,
The eagle plunge to find the air,
That we ask of the stars in motion
If they have rumour of thee there ?

Not where the wheeling systems darken
And our benumbed conceiving soars !—
The drift of pinions, would we hearken,
Beats at our own clay-shuttered doors.

The angels keep their ancient places ;—
Turn but a stone, and start a wing !
'Tis ye, 'tis your estrangèd faces
That miss the many-coloured thing.

It is strange that before Thompson the only religious poets who have appeared in English literature have been minor poets. It has been noted of Shakespeare that amongst the world's supreme poets he is almost alone in having no religion and no philosophy. But in English literature it is not Shakespeare alone who has no religion. Milton is equally irreligious. Milton was a great scholar, a great theologian, a great poet, but of religious experience he had no knowledge. He worshipped God with his brain, but his heart thrilled to other chords. One dominant chord is that which nerved him to become a rebel and a regicide. And if, as has been often said, the real hero of *Paradise Lost* is Satan, the reason is that while Milton's brain was busy trying to justify the ways of God to man, his Roundhead heart was magnifying Lucifer, the dauntless revolutionary. Shelley might, I think, have been a religious poet if he had had any education. He had the religious temperament, but he was born in an age when the Churches were always on the wrong side and the atheists on the right, and he also happened—owing to his queer up-bringing—to miss contact with any of the profounder Christian thinkers who might have taught him to distinguish the meaning of religion from its contemporary appearance. Of the greater English poets the one who comes nearest to being a religious poet is Browning. The closing stanzas of "*Saul*," for example, are inspired with genuinely religious insight and feeling ; but with Browning religion is only one element in a world that contains a number of things. His world is not, like Thompson's, interfused with God throughout. God, if one may put it crudely, is one of Browning's many interests. The critic who said that Browning conceived of God as an impressive final word with which to end a poem was expressing in broad caricature a tendency which is per-

ceptible in Browning's thought. There is in Browning's God a trace of the *Deus ex machina*.

Thompson is a new epiphany in English literature. For the first time we hear the Songs of Sion from a poet of outstanding genius. It is natural to Thompson to "Teach how the crucifix may be carven from the laurel-tree"; and of Thompson himself may be said what he said of Mrs. Meynell:—

Whatever singing-robe thou wear
Has the Paradisal air;
And some gold feather it has kept
Shows what Floor it lately swept!

Some of Thompson's poems have for subject the love of God for man. In the allegory called "A Girl's Sin" the girl wants love, but wants it as a pleasant plaything, as something she can take up and lay down at will; she is frightened by great love; she feels that each step in such a love means a further step, and that she will never be able to stop short of complete surrender. Complete surrender she is not prepared to make, so she rejects the great love and turns to lesser and less exacting loves.

In the same way Thompson sees the soul of man shrinking from the intensity of God's love. The thought is expressed in its simplest form in "Love and the Child."

"Why do you so clasp me,
And draw me to your knee?
Forsooth, you do but chafe me,
I pray you let me be;
I will but be loved now and then
When it liketh me!"

So I heard a young child,
A thwart child, a young child
Rebellious against love's arms,
Make its peevish cry.

To the tender God I turn:—
"Pardon, Love most High!
For I think those arms were even Thine,
And that child even I."

The reason for this shrinking is that the soul, as the girl in the allegory, knows that to love God means in the end complete self-surrender. Man is afraid of loving God because he fears that in the end he will love Him too well; that ultimately he will love nothing else, and that the love for God will drive out all his lesser loves of the things of this world. This is the theme of "The Hound of Heaven."

For though I knew His love who followèd,
Yet was I sore adread
Lest having Him I must have nought beside.

And it is noteworthy how naturally Thompson's mind centres on the compulsion of love and not on the compulsion of law. In the history of Christian thought there is a constantly recurring misunderstanding—which the saints and poets are constantly correcting—that renunciation is a condition precedent to salvation, that it is the price demanded for admission to Heaven. This error would make of Christianity a code instead of a gospel. If a rich man cannot enter the kingdom of Heaven, it is not because God rejects him; it is because no one can be interested in Heaven and in riches at the same time. If a man cannot serve God and Mammon, it is not because God is an exclusive task-master; the reason is the same as that which prevents him from loving two women at once; the reason lies in the nature of love itself. In "The Hound of Heaven" the poet is not afraid that God will order him to renounce the world; he knows that God is a Lover, not a law-giver; what he fears is that once he yields to the courtship of God, he will himself want to renounce the world.

But when at last the fear is conquered, the love accepted, and the renunciation made, then it is found that God gives back all and more than the soul has surrendered.

All which I took from thee I did but take,
 Not for thy harms,
 But just that thou might'st seek it in My arms.
 All which thy child's mistake
 Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home :
 Rise, clasp My hand and come !

In that wonder-piece called "The Mistress of Vision" Thompson finds expression both for this conception of renunciation and for his other habitual concept of the oneness of the universe. In a secret garden, set beyond the "fosse of death,"

in the pathless awe
 Where no star its breath can draw,

he sees the Mistress of Vision, and asks of her the way to the Land of the Soul's Desire, called in the poem "The Land of Luthany" and "the region Elenore." To repeat her answer would require the music of an earthquaking sunrise, and the poet brings back from the vision only these "dim snatches of her chant":—

"When earth and heaven lay down their veil,
 And that apocalypse turns thee pale;
 When thy seeing blindeth thee
 To what thy fellow-mortals see;
 When their sight to thee is sightless;
 Their living, death; their light, most lightless;
 Search no more.

Pass the gates of Luthany, tread the region Elenore."

* * * *

'When to the new eyes of thee
 All things by immortal power,
 Near or far,
 Hiddenly
 To each other linkèd are,
 That thou canst not stir a flower
 Without troubling of a star;
 * * * *

. . . seek no more !

Pass the gates of Luthany, tread the region Elenore."

So sang she, so wept she,
 Through a dream night's day ;
 And with her magic singing kept she—
 Mystical in music—
 That garden of enchanting
 In visionary May ;
 Swayless for my spirit's haunting,
 Thrice-threefold walled with emerald from our mortal mornings grey.

And as a necromancer
 Raises from the rose-ash
 The ghost of the rose ;
 My heart so made answer
 To her voice's silver plash,
 Stirred in reddening flash,
 And from out its mortal ruins the purpureal phantom blows.

When the poet has said all that mortal melody can say, he knows
 that the unutterable is still unuttered.

When she shall unwind
 All those wiles she wound about me
 Tears shall break out from me
 That I cannot find
 Music in the holy poets to my wistful want, I doubt me !

The ancient secrets remain untold. Others will take up the task
 of revelation and strive to make clear how this mortal puts on im-
 mortality when consumed in the fire of the altar ; but it may be long
 before any saint or singer searching for means to show forth this
 mystery finds to his wistful want a better symbol than Thompson's
 burnt-out heart, which

Stirred in reddening flash,
 And from out its mortal ruins the purpureal phantom blows.

A. MAXWELL.

NONCONFORMITY IN THE UNIVERSITIES

IV. THE UNIVERSITY OF WALES

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to remind readers of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY that the religious life of Wales is predominantly Nonconformist. Various causes—and among them it would not be wrong to reckon the influence of the Methodist movement as the chief—have brought it about that almost everywhere the great majority of the population of the country are chapel-goers, and not church-goers. The exact proportion of Churchmen and Dissenters has been a matter of controversy, which was especially acute during the disestablishment agitation; but for the present purpose it is immaterial, since the fact remains indisputable, that in Wales, and notably in the districts where the Welsh language is still a vigorous force, the Nonconformists are not a mere influential minority, but the dominant element in religious and in public life. This is a recent phenomenon in the history of Wales, and does not go further back than the early years of the nineteenth century. Defenders of “the Church of England” have no difficulty in illustrating the large and fruitful part played by parish clergymen in Welsh life and Welsh literature during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But it does not follow that active Nonconformity is a transitory phase in Welsh history, and that efforts which might have succeeded a hundred years ago will now bring the Welsh back to the ancient fold; Welsh Dissent, in spite of its youth, has its own traditions, its own firmly rooted institutions, and its own outlook—it has become an integral part of the Wales that is known to the Welshman of to-day.

The University of Wales, which came into existence in 1893, and was remodelled in 1920, naturally embodies, in a large measure, the educational ideals of this Nonconformist community. It is, in substance, a federation of four University Colleges or places of higher education, situated at Aberystwyth (1872), Cardiff (1883), Bangor (1884), and Swansea (1920). In the charter of each of these Colleges, as in that of the University itself, a provision was inserted which forbade the imposition of any religious test upon any officer or student of the institution, and the principle was thus maintained that these new educational agencies, meant for the benefit of Welsh students of all classes and creeds, should not come under the ægis of any religious body. For Wales, as a result of the disestablishment campaign, was now thoroughly possessed with the idea (whatever might have been the case in earlier times) that

public educational institutions should, both in management and in membership, be independent of any form of ecclesiastical control. To such a point was this principle carried that the charters of Cardiff and Bangor in express terms excluded theology from the subjects which might be taught, since it was at that time inconceivable that there could be any theological instruction which was not of a dogmatic character and framed in the direct interests of some organized Church. In a few years it was realized that this was an extreme view, and in the University charter of 1893 provision was made for the granting of theological degrees, to be taken by students of the Welsh theological colleges; recently, Bangor has gone further and obtained the removal of the embargo upon theology in its own charter, with the result that it has now in readiness a scheme of theological education, to be carried out in concert with denominational agencies in its neighbourhood.

Nonconformity in the University of Wales is, therefore, a religious force which (apart from the Faculty of Theology) has no sort of official recognition, and yet pervades the atmosphere in which the students live. There is no collegiate worship, the buildings are closed on Sundays, and it is only by accident that professors and students become aware of each other's religious views and ecclesiastical connexions. It might be expected that trouble might arise under an order of things in which College councils are free to appoint to University chairs able scholars who are quite out of sympathy with the religious habits and beliefs of the community in which they are to do their work; but there has been practically none. Common sense has been shown on both sides; the professor has respected the sentiments of his neighbours, and they have displayed a large tolerance, which is occasionally to be traced to the belief that nothing but queer ways are to be expected from an Englishman.

In the early days of the Colleges, the religious difficulty was expected to be serious, and Anglican influence secured the insertion of a clause in the Bangor charter which stipulated that no student should reside in the College buildings, the object being to secure that the "undenominational" principle, accepted of necessity in the sphere of instruction, should not be allowed to extend to that of residence. In practice, no difficulty has been less serious; the lapse of years has convinced the public that the University and College authorities can be trusted to administer the interests committed to them with moderation and impartiality. Of late, the end of the political strife between Churchmen and Dissenters has further eased the situation, and it is safe to say that to-day every religious community in Wales regards the University as a valuable aid to its activities.

To discuss the influence of Nonconformity in our University is,

it will be seen, to discuss the place of religion in the lives of the great majority of our students. Those of them who are of Nonconformist stock usually attach themselves at the beginning of their college career to one of the churches of their order, and some become active church workers. At the same time, it should be recognized that the entrance upon academic life is a critical stage in the student's career. In very many cases, it is his (or her) first experience of an independent life, untrammelled by the control of relatives and friends; a new world opens up, not only in thought and speculation, but also in social relations; for the home convention is substituted the student convention, which is no less compelling a force; altogether, it is a time when religious ties are very easily snapped, and one may readily fall into a habitual neglect of religious duties. Something may, no doubt, be done to check this tendency. It is the custom of each of the Nonconformist Churches of Bangor to hold a reception or social gathering at the beginning of the session and to invite to it all students likely to attend there for worship; in this way a mutual acquaintance is set up which helps to bridge over the critical period I have described. Pastors, it may be added, should more frequently concern themselves, when members of their Churches leave home for a University course, to report the name and address to the proper ministerial quarter in the University town; otherwise, it is for the local minister not merely a case of looking for a needle in the proverbial bundle of hay, but sometimes of looking for a needle which can deftly conceal itself.

But what, I venture to think, is even more important than finding a place in the appropriate and pre-ordained ecclesiastical fold is that the student should come under the sway of an enlightened and powerful ministry, able to appreciate the difficulties of which he is beginning to be aware and to appeal with fervour to the enthusiasm and idealism of youth. It should be an axiom in the counsels of every Nonconformist denomination in Wales that one such preacher should be stationed by it in each of the four University centres, for he will preach to a far greater and more influential audience than the estimable Christian folk who pay his salary and sit under him all the year round; the echoes of his message will be heard for a generation in many a distant manse and country schoolhouse. I scarcely think that connexional boards are sufficiently alive to this aspect of things; they should recognize that all University centres, and not Oxford and Cambridge alone, where the matter is fairly obvious, are strategic points in the Christian warfare against sin and unbelief. It is a calamity that any young mind, learning to realize the bigness of the world and the complexity of its problems, should not, during the formative period of his intellectual life, when he is choosing the ideals which will

henceforth claim his allegiance, hear the Christian Gospel presented to him as a message to the modern man, in utterances in which scholarship and sympathy and saintly fervour are woven together in a threefold cord. What Mansfield has done supremely well for Oxford should be witnessed on a smaller scale in each of the four University towns of Wales. There are acceptable ministries in each, some of them appealing to students, but I hear of no Selbie or Glover, no Thomas Jones or Thomas Charles Edwards.

There is, as it happens, a religious agency entirely outside the Churches which is a potent factor in student life and may become even more influential in the future. I refer to the Students' Christian Union. Flourishing branches exist at Aberystwyth, Cardiff, Bangor and Swansea, and the supporters of the movement are active in endeavouring to enlist the co-operation of all students in their work. I need scarcely say that the C.U. (as it is familiarly called) is in no sense identified with Nonconformity; on the contrary, one of its great merits is that it enables students to forget sectarian differences in an atmosphere of simple Christian fellowship. Churchmen and Churchwomen take their full share in the activities of the Union, and at Bangor the annual Union sermon is delivered alternately by a Churchman and a Nonconformist. But the majority of the members are inevitably Nonconformists, and no review of the kind attempted in this article would be complete which did not take account of this particular organization. It is liable in Wales to one special danger, that of becoming unduly secular in its appeal and its public programme. The hold which organized religion has upon our students is so strong that there seems little need of missionary effort or direct religious appeal, and thus the C.U. may easily become (and this, I learn, has happened in more than one of our Colleges) one among many students' societies, providing interesting addresses for its clientèle, but not charged with any distinctively religious mission. This error in emphasis finds its best antidote in the development of the system of study circles, in which small groups of students meet for informal discussion of religious problems. In these gatherings, where students get together on common ground, away from the shadow of ecclesiastical and academic authority, earnest talk is possible upon the great issues of life, and everyone who recalls his student days will readily admit that it was thus the deepest and most lasting impressions were made upon him.

It is of good augury for the future of Nonconformity in Wales that so large a proportion of its future ministers is being trained in the national Colleges. A recent utterance of the Archbishop of Wales shows that those who guide the fortunes of the now independent Welsh Church are well aware of the advantages thus to be gained and are fully resolved to share them. The ministry

gains, not in mere learning alone, but in breadth of outlook, in knowledge of men, in cultivated and humane experience. The laity come to know their future pastors on a footing of equality, in the plastic season of youth, before the heavy doors of ecclesiastical convention have closed upon them. For, as our native critic of Nonconformist life, the author of *Rhys Lewis*, reminds us, the preacher and the man too often stand in contrast. "When he is in the house, he is just himself; but when he steps into the pulpit, you would swear he was another being, and, what is more, an inferior being, for he's not true to nature." There are abundant signs, especially since the war, that more natural and simple ideals are now gaining ground, and to this result the freedom and democratic equality of student life in the Colleges is contributing in no small degree.

JOHN EDWARD LLOYD.

DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS

This section of our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organization, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.

Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in one part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust that these pages will not only serve as a clearing-house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in Church and denominational life.

Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.

COPEC: THE GREAT CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

IN the history of English Christendom there can have been few times more critical and perhaps none more interesting than the present. That the Church has before it an opportunity of unequalled splendour would hardly be disputed by any who know how deep and widespread is the desire for a new world and can read the signs of the times, with their prevailing atmosphere of dissatisfaction and unrest and wistful longing. If the war demonstrated the failure of much which had seemed secure, if it revealed the inadequacy of a civilization based upon material standards and aiming primarily at material ends, it displayed once again the capacity of ordinary men and women for an infinite sacrifice and courage, and left us all prepared for drastic reforms in our way of life and plastic to the hand which should re-shape the world. When it closed, every denomination in the land made its effort to enlist the new-discovered resources of adventurous and devoted manhood in the service of Jesus Christ. Civilization was obviously threatened with a breakdown similar in character (but vastly more terrific in scale and more rapid in development) to that which we can trace in the story of the decline of the Roman Empire. And on every side preachers took occasion to warn us of the ruin which was coming upon the earth and to point to Christ and His Kingdom as the only alternative to chaos. That such preaching was sincere is as evident as that it was ineffective. We do not believe that the gravity of the issue was overstated: we know that men and women were deeply stirred and genuinely desirous to give Christianity a fair trial. But, disappointing as it is to admit it, the result was practically negligible. It seemed as if the Church had had its chance—and had failed. After three years of effort and disproportionately small success, we came to understand the reason for our failure.

Once seen, it was plain enough. We had claimed that Christ was the way and the truth and the life, that He and He alone could supply both the guidance and the inspiration for the building of a new world. And when we came to discuss what this new world would be like or what first step He would have us take towards it, we found that we simply did not know. All sorts of people were eager and willing to begin building the City of God. Many of them made haste to start laying foundations and heaping up bricks and mortar ; but the Church, which should have been able to provide them with plans for the lay-out and architecture, could not supply what was required.

The plain fact is that, whereas in the centuries of Christian history much time and devotion have been spent upon the details of individual Christian character, the study of the corporate interpretation of our religion is still comparatively in its infancy. No doubt in mediæval times a distinctively Christian social order existed, an order adapted to the outlook and needs of a feudal society. But to mediævalism we certainly cannot return. And for the twentieth century we have no clear conception of what Christian citizenship involves. Two things are evident : first, that until we can discover how the principles of our faith can be applied to the problems of our generation we cannot move towards their realization ; and secondly, that even if a clear ideal of a converted society could be set before us, we should be impotent to translate it into fact unless the whole mass of Christians were banded together for the achievement. At present even those most sincerely desirous to Christianize social and industrial life find themselves confronted by evils for which no one individual is responsible, and which no one individual or group of individuals can hope to overcome. Only corporate action can cure the corporate disease.

So we were confronted as Christians with a double task : first to study and explain our faith in its bearing upon the complex of human relationships, and then to arouse the Churches to the need for common and united action. Out of the Interdenominational School of Social Service there had arisen a desire for a great attempt to concentrate the attention of all Christians upon these issues, and to convene a Conference which should endeavour to do for social work what the Edinburgh Conference had done for foreign missions. And gradually, when the disillusionment of the post-war years emphasized the need for such an adventure, the plan took shape. A Council representative of all denominations and of all fields of social life was formed, and after long and careful deliberation a three-fold programme was formulated.

In the first place it was resolved that the undertaking should be promoted, if they were willing, through the organized Churches of Britain. It would have been in many respects easier to gather

together only those who were specially versed in the problems of corporate life, or the wider and less official body known as the men and women of goodwill. But it was felt that to do so would be to sacrifice the power and energy represented in the great Christian communions, and that if these could be united in such a cause the effect would be infinitely more far-reaching and practical. Both for thought and action the Churches can supply a wealth of resource and machinery, of influence and man-power, such as no organization newly created for the purpose could hope to equal. The difficulties were, of course, far greater ; but if they could be overcome, the result would be incalculably more worthy. The recognized authorities of every communion in Britain were therefore approached and invited to support the plan, and to meet in common study and conference, and with a magnificent generosity and enthusiasm they decided to undertake it.

In the second place, if the Conference was to produce results, it was recognized that the Report presented to it for discussion must be searching and authoritative. Christians have often been accused (and not always unjustly) of an academic idealism which is ignorant of the facts of social, economic and political life. If the Church was to be united for action it must be guided by expert knowledge in deciding upon its policy. So the field of study was mapped out : a series of detailed questionnaires surveying the whole of it was drawn up ; and Commissions were formed to investigate the several departments of corporate life. It was felt that Christians had too often failed to make their special contribution to the solution of our difficulties because they had sought to discuss the details rather than the large principles of reform, and had begun their inquiry rather from the circumference of the circle than from its centre. The peculiar Christian equipment should surely be the insight into the mind and purpose of God which is derivable from the revelation of Him in Jesus Christ. To bring the Spirit of Christ into the spheres of education, of sex, of the home, of industry, and of politics should be the Christian's task. His duty is primarily to ask not " What is the best expedient to meet the present crisis ? " or even " How can the economic and political life of the country be made less un-Christian ? " but " What does Christ's teaching and life reveal to be God's intention and will, and how can this will thus made visible be done upon earth ? " So the Commissions were invited to start from the attempt to interpret the divine plan for the world of to-day, and one of them was specially entrusted with the consideration of the theological and religious principles involved. It was felt that only by testing their convictions and prejudices by the standard of their common faith could the followers of Jesus hope to reach a measure of agreement, or at least to disclose the causes of their divergence. Here again the undertaking seemed

almost quixotic in its magnitude. To unite Romans and Anglicans, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists, Quakers and Unitarians, in a common Conference seemed scarcely possible ; to expect their leaders to agree upon a common statement of fundamental principles, and upon the common application of those principles to problems upon which the widest divergence of opinion exists, might well appear grotesque. How far the hope will be realized cannot be foretold until the issue of the Reports next spring ; but if we may judge from the first three months of their work, the Commissions are manifesting a wonderful eagerness to reach a statement of what they hold in common, and to apply their faith without bias to the questions propounded to them for study. In any case, even if the result reveals a failure to reach anything like unanimity, the year of mutual discussion and the effort to obtain a clearer vision of truth cannot but be of value for the future.

Finally, it was recognized from the first that a Conference, however influential, and Reports, however authoritative, would accomplish little unless the great mass of Church members were aroused and educated. In all denominations there are still very many to be found who have never seriously studied the implications of their faith for corporate life. "Christian politics" seems still to many a contradiction in terms : "social" still suggests "socialistic." Unless these errors can be combated, and all Christians helped to see that they are responsible just as much for civic and national as for individual righteousness, no real movement for reform can be set on foot. If the Christians of the land once realized that educational wastage, bad and insufficient housing, the unemployment of honest workers, the ruthlessness of unrestricted competition, and the policies of "ca' canny" and of "grab" were as great an outrage upon a Christian civilization as drunkenness or gambling, an immediate improvement in the standards of corporate life would be achieved, and drastic reform would be practicable. As it is, those who understand the need for Christ in business and politics are a small handful too powerless to do more than offer themselves as martyrs, and driven by their very helplessness into acquiescence in evils which they deplore. So the Council, in addition to its other work, has steadily kept in view the need for diffusing knowledge of and interest in such matters ; and for this purpose hundreds of groups up and down the country have been invited to study and report upon the questionnaires. These groups are of very different types. Some have expert knowledge ; others have no knowledge at all ; some are in connexion with churches or other religious organizations ; others are formed from teachers or business men, students or people of leisure or industrial workers. Whatever the value of their findings, they will at least represent very varied phases of public opinion ;

and the interest aroused will lead many to a desire for action if once the immediate steps are made plain.

A few practical details as to the Conference may not be out of place. It is to meet in Birmingham from April 5th to 12th next year, and will be attended by some fifteen hundred delegates. The Congregational Union has promised to send a number of representatives, and these will be chosen very shortly. The Report will be in the hands of delegates before the Conference, but will not be published until it has been submitted, discussed and approved. It is hoped to follow up the Conference by a series of smaller meetings in various large towns throughout the kingdom, and to perpetuate its work in a permanent interdenominational organization. Any who wish to prepare themselves for it are asked to communicate with the Hon. Secretaries of the Council, 92, St. George's Square, Westminster, and if possible to form groups for study during the next six months. A scheme of Associate membership has been prepared, whereby on payment of half a guinea Associates can be kept in close touch with the whole work and supplied with all the literature. Associates will form the nucleus for the continuation of the work and for its local development. From them will come in large measure the driving power behind the whole movement.

CHARLES E. RAVEN.

MISSIONARY EXPERIMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND HOW THEY HAVE WORKED OUT

SOUTH AFRICA is one of the oldest fields of the London Missionary Society. In March 1799 van der Kemp landed in Table Bay as the leader of a little band of four volunteers consecrated to the heroic task of conquering a continent for Christ. Africa was indeed the "Dark Continent." The European settlements extended from Cape Town eastwards for some four hundred miles to the confines of Kaffirland, and northwards to the Orange River. Cape Town was a village of four to five thousand white inhabitants, and there were only four other small villages in the vast territory. The total white population was not above fifty thousand; the farms were isolated and lonely; schools scarcely existed; the half-dozen churches scattered throughout the inland districts made but scanty provision for the religious needs of the people.

For the aborigines no spiritual provision was thought necessary. The virile Kaffir tribes lived outside the boundaries of the white settlements. In the Colony the native population was Bushman, Hottentot, and slave. Of the Bushmen, Kicherer, one of the associates of van der Kemp, says: "Their habitations are generally among the rocks, where they dig a small den, about three feet deep, which they

sometimes cover with reeds. Here they spend most of their time in sleep, except when roused by hunger, when they sally forth in quest of some wild beasts ; but when unsuccessful in this respect they make shift to subsist on snakes, mice, or wild onions ; and such is their idleness that rather than be at pains of seeking food, they will live several days together without it."

The Hottentots were a little higher in the scale. They had herds of cattle, but no settled home. They roamed from place to place in search of pasture, sleeping in rude huts of straw or under the open sky. The white farmers regarded both Bushmen and Hottentots as their natural enemies, driving them from the pastures and fountains which had been theirs. No Hottentot had rights of any kind. The Law Courts were closed to them. If they trespassed on the farmer's ground or disturbed his cattle, they were liable to be shot. Their children were taken into an apprenticeship which was equivalent to slavery.

The slaves were an importation from the Malay Straits, Madagascar, and the coasts of Africa. Their status was better than that of the aborigines. Some of them had education, a few were master workmen. The beautiful Cape houses, with their wide-spreading gables, were their work. But there were few to think of their spiritual needs, and their women were the prey of their white masters. Such was the field which the missionaries of the first years of last century entered.

Their problem was to raise this mass of helpless, hopeless, and degraded humanity to the level of Christian citizenship. They were not without helpers among the Dutch people of South Africa. At Rodesand the Rev. Mr. Vos of the Dutch Church was zealous for the conversion of the heathen ; in Cape Town Mrs. Matilda Smit gave her energies to the uplift of the children of the slaves ; throughout the country there were a few who, like Floris Fischer of Zak River, made good witness among their heathen surroundings. But the Dutch Church was small and poor in resources, and the missionary impulse of later years was not yet. Those who believed it a Christian duty to preach the Gospel to sin-sodden black men did not believe in teaching them to read or in the grant of civil rights. To this day the white civilization in South Africa is maintaining a precarious existence in the face of masses of barbarism, and those of little faith still think that the best bulwark is to be found in the helpless ignorance of the natives. The missionaries from Europe found few allies.

The difficulties of missionary work among a nomadic people were soon apparent. The story of the efforts to establish stations in the desolate north-west reads like the history of the wanderings of the Children of Israel in the wilderness. No sooner was a station established, and the work of Church and school begun, than the

nomadic habits of the people broke it up. The list of early stations is bewildering in its multiplicity, and some of the sites cannot now be traced. Much the same was true in the more settled regions eastwards towards Kaffirland. In September 1801 van der Kemp reports a school at Graaff Reinet with an enrolment of sixty-two, but in March of the next year the school had been closed. Thus at the very beginning it became apparent that the elementary right to the possession of land was necessary if the people were to be evangelized. An appeal was made to Government, grants of land were effected, and the first of the "Institutions" was established. In 1819, when the pioneer period may be regarded as closed, there were such "Institutions" at Bethelsdorp, Zuurbrak, Pacaltsdorp, and Theopolis, where the Hottentots could live under the patriarchal guidance and protection of the missionary. Statutory rights were granted to the "Institutions" by the Governor. The children could not be taken away as apprentices, the men could compound for a call to labour on Government works by the payment of a small fee, the missionary could plead on behalf of his parishioners in the Law Courts. The missionary became an administrator as well as a preacher and teacher. The "Institutions" became a sort of *imperium in imperio*, where the people had privileges denied them in ordinary life, and where a wise administration could effect much good, but unwisdom and the rule of sentiment could work untold harm. The story of the "Institutions" is not always happy reading. Missionaries are often not by temperament and training well fitted to administer large estates and rule troublesome and primitive people. Read in detail the story often looks like dismal failure, but when we consider the special difficulties and the remarkable progress made by the people during the first half-century we are inclined to reverse our judgment. Writing in 1848, William Elliott said: "The case has now completely altered. The rights of the Hottentot are now recognized and protected by Colonial law; he, like any other man, may go where he pleases without a pass, and take his labour or his produce to the best market. He has outgrown the need for a City of Refuge."

In February 1819 the Rev. John Philip, D.D., arrived as the representative of the Society in South Africa. He was a man of energy, courage, and statesmanship. He found prevalent throughout South Africa a narrow conception of the missionary's duty. The missionary must interest himself in saving souls, and on no account trespass beyond his province. If he so dealt with the poor derelicts of humanity drifting about the African veld as to win from them a confession of conversion that might be supposed to make glad the angels of God, South African piety applauded him as a good man. If he ventured to teach his converts to stand upon their feet as self-respecting men and women, he was accused of spoiling

the natives, and condemned as a nuisance and a danger. Thus the battle was joined for Dr. Philip from the start. The Government had already given certain restricted rights to the residents on the "Institutions"; he set himself to the enlargement of these rights, and their extension to the whole community. The missionary became of necessity the political leader. It is not possible to tell here the story of the conflicts, defeats, and victories of the next thirty years. A party of liberal principles arose in South African politics which continues to this day. What is known as the "Cape Native Policy" was the direct outcome of the labours of Philip and his associates. His name has been besmirched in the school history books, but he has an abiding monument in the political policy he helped to establish. Such men as the Solomons, the Schreiners, and Sprigg acknowledged his leadership; and even Rhodes, Botha, and Smuts have followed him unknowingly. When he retired in 1850, the colour bar had practically disappeared in the Cape Colony.

The success of the early missionaries is attested by the new policy initiated by the Directors about the time of Dr. Philip's retirement. In 1853 Moffat and Livingstone reply to an inquiry sent out from London: "We believe that the Colony has ceased to present the temporal and spiritual destitution which are understood to entitle a country to be treated as a field of missionary enterprise by our Society." Three years later the Board passed a series of five resolutions urging the Churches south of the Orange River to rise to the dignity of self-maintenance, affirming the continuance of its parental affection, and offering to transfer all properties to trustees for the sole use of the Churches which carry out the Scriptural principle of self-support. Thus the London Missionary Society, which had been a pioneer in bringing the Gospel to the despised Hottentots and in battling for their civil and political rights, set the seal on their labours by initiating the final experiment of withdrawal. It is this last experiment which we are now to study and to criticize.

No experiment in the field of missionary enterprise has been more criticized than this last adventure in South Africa. Everyone admits that the missionary stage is temporary, that there must come a time when the converts won from heathenism will stand on their own feet, administer their own Church life, and develop their own forms of Christian belief and practice. But most students of missions think that a tutelage of fifty years was insufficient for the primitive peoples of the Cape Colony. Among many students there are a few, of whom the present writer is one, who believe the adventure was justified. Mistakes in detail were many, and the difficulties which have arisen have been formidable, but in the broad result the coloured people have gained a sense of dignity and independence

which are gains towards the Kingdom of God. The end of missions is not the building-up of prosperous Churches which may be used as an advertisement for the Society which promotes them, but the general advance of the people themselves. It may well be that the Mission itself will disappear and the Churches founded by it may be involved in a ruin similar to that which overtook the Churches founded by Paul in Asia Minor or the monasteries of Iona and Holy Isle, where only a few moss-grown stones mark the scene of the labours of those who first evangelized Britain. But if the root of character is planted in the breasts of the people the missionary has his reward.

In withdrawing the Society manifested much solicitude for its congregations. It transferred such as it could to sister societies ; it encouraged such as remained to organize themselves into an alliance, known at first as the Evangelical Voluntary Alliance, and later as the Congregational Union. Some passed to the care of the Rhenish Mission, some to the Dutch Reformed Church, and a few became Anglican. The majority elected to become independent. This double line of procedure was a mistake. A Missionary Society has committed to it far more than the care of a number of stations and a few thousand souls. It is sponsor for the nascent nationhood of a primitive people. It must preserve a unity of policy which covers, so far as it can, the whole of the growing life of the nation. The London Missionary Society was strong enough to have established a National Church for the coloured people. This opportunity was lost. The transferred Churches were absorbed into their new environment, and in time became the ecclesiastical rivals of those born in the same spiritual cradle. The coloured people who should have been united in faith, striving together for the furtherance of the Gospel, were left with no sense of unity of any kind, no common Church, no central institution such as the Kaffirs have at Lovedale, nothing but the fading memory of a Great Heart that once loved them out of the abyss. Their growing sense of nationhood was checked. To-day, after more than fifty years, their national consciousness is little better than that of hangers-on at the skirts of their white neighbours. The lesson to be learnt is that when a Missionary Society finds the time has arrived for withdrawal it must leave behind it an organism strong enough to bear the growing life it has been privileged to impart. To withdraw piecemeal, and to invite whosoever will to come in to share the burden, is to sow the seeds of disunion for the years to come.

Most of the missions elected to become "independent." We must pause for a moment over this word. It has a very different connotation in Africa from the high status it enjoys in England. An independent Church is a group of believing Christians, joined in fellowship, with so intense a feeling for the presence of Christ that

it will brook no interference from without. To use the old Covenanting term, it is very jealous for "the crown rights of the Redeemer." That is the old historical sense of the word, and this was the ideal the missionaries set before their congregations. But they were dealing with a primitive people unable to breath rarified air. In the view of the people they were offered something in line with the freedom from slavery which they had received twenty years before. With the irrational logic characteristic of untutored minds, they came to think of the Missionary Society as the master from whose bondage they were freed by the payments due for their minister's salary. To this day this perverted conception of an independent Church prevails. They resent the use of the term Congregational as savouring something of the old bondage. Even the Congregational Union, where they themselves are represented, comes under the suspicion of tyranny. Deacons and delegates to the Union are ever on the watch lest their dearly-bought "rights" should be infringed. In the congregations themselves majorities are at times defied, and the influence of a devoted minister may go for nothing. The shudder of slavery is still in the hearts of the people. Another generation of wise administration and the spread of education will do much to effect a change. Already there are coloured Churches which are real spiritual homes, where the living presence of the Lord, guiding and upholding the minds of His faithful people, is very manifest.

It is questionable if the democratic methods of Europe are suited to the African. The African does not readily understand democracy. He understands the platform part of it all right. He is a great talker and debater. Nothing gives him greater delight than to tell you what he knows about any subject, but he does not expect you to take his remarks too seriously. He only knows a small part of the mystery which in his mind surrounds the simplest matter; he wants to tell you what he knows, and thinks himself oppressed if denied the opportunity; but the decision is for the Chief who hears all sides and knows all things. This is true of all Africans, even of the coloured people in whom the family or tribal sense is more deeply imbued than many think. If one wants to see democracy *in extremis*, he should attend a coloured Church-meeting in some up-country district where there has been a long vacancy. The meeting may go on all night, the speeches interminable, the decision frequently deferred to another occasion, and the vote—when at last taken—given with no guiding principle, and not accepted as final. If he wants to see democracy adapted to African conditions, he should attend that same Church after a minister of the right sort has been a year or two in possession. He will find the people still insisting on being heard, but ready to acquiesce in the guidance of one whom they have learnt to trust. It is the general South African experience

that the minister has a very good time or a very bad one. There are plenty of ministers who, after a lifetime of service, declare they would not have changed their lot with any; there are others who cannot endure a Church life where "black rules white." It all turns upon this matter of adapting democracy to African conditions. The minister must fill the niche which the old hereditary instincts of the people demand. All this was pretty well understood by the missionaries of 1850. They also were wise.

An important gain to the people was that the Church became the training-ground in public life. It was the one place where the coloured man could have a voice. He was shut out from Municipal Councils and all other Government assemblies. This explains, in part, his deep interest in Church-meetings. On the whole he has not abused his trust. The loving care with which Church properties are kept clean and in repair is eloquent of his interest and capacity.

An essential part of the London Missionary Society plan of withdrawal was the training of an indigenous ministry which should gradually displace the ministers from Europe. This purpose has been fulfilled only in part. Some twenty coloured men have been ordained during the half-century, of whom not more than half have proved a success. The piecemeal methods of the withdrawal have contributed to this meagre success. The nascent racial consciousness of the people was not permitted to fructify. The people were left with no unifying organization—a heterogeneous mass suspended between the white and the Kaffir nations. They do not expect leaders of their own race. Those who have most white blood despise those of darker hue, and are ambitious that their children should be fair enough to pass as whites; while those who are dark, or have the characteristic woolly hair of the African, are jealous of their more fortunate brethren. Also the Society made no adequate provision for the training of a coloured ministry. Several fugitive attempts were made, the most ambitious being at Lovedale, where coloured students are taken along with the Kaffirs—a great mistake. To this day no Church working among the coloured people has an institution for the training of ministers. Still, hopeful progress has been made. There are eight coloured ministers in the field to-day, some of whom are doing excellent work. Also there is a growing demand in the Churches for such men, a clear sign of a coming race consciousness. During the past few years there has been an extraordinary growth in the number of young men and women coming forward to be trained as teachers. The Congregational Union last year opened the Dower College as a normal training school with accommodation for eighty, and it is already proving inadequate. It is probable that when once success is established in this sphere there will be a like push towards the ministry.

The progress of the people in capacity to own and develop

property is slow but steady. It has been accepted as an axiom that no coloured man has character enough to retain property when it becomes valuable. Examples in proof are plentiful. At Dysselsdorp a considerable area was placed under irrigation by the enterprise of the missionaries. At the time of withdrawal individual titles to the gardens were given, with the result that when a wave of prosperity came along making the plots worth from £100 to £200 per morgen they all without exception passed into the hands of Europeans. The same happened with the valuable farms in the Kat River and in the vast upland district of Kokstad. A generation ago the coloured people were sole owners, and to-day it is rare to find one of them with free title, or with any title at all. Things are slowly altering for the better. Round about the Western Provinces are found coloured men with valuable properties which they have learned to develop. A number are building contractors or wagon builders in a good way of business. Young men make good motor mechanics. The time is ripe for an industrial experiment inspired by the spirit which directed the efforts of Booker Washington in America.

Drink is a great evil, especially in the wine-producing districts of the Western Province. The Congregational Churches have set their faces sternly to repress it. In this they are heartily backed by the coloured members. Total abstinence is a condition of Church membership. An organization known as the I.O.T.T. on lines similar to the Good Templars among Europeans is purely coloured, and is of great influence.

Coloured people have the vote in the Cape Province on the same educational and property qualification as their white neighbours. This is part of what is known as the Cape Native Policy, to which reference is made above. On the whole they have exercised their citizen rights with discretion. The time cannot be far distant when similar rights will be conceded in the three other Provinces of the Union.

A part of the policy of withdrawal was the formation of a strong European Church, in fellowship with the coloured Churches, which might take the place of the Society as counsellor and friend. In 1859 the Evangelical Voluntary Alliance was formed, consisting of Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians. As yet none of these Churches had any organization of their own. The idea was a strong Evangelical Church, on the broad Catholic basis of the London Missionary Society, and its lineal descendant. In practice it worked out as an alliance of ministers rather than of Churches, the ministers travelling many hundreds of miles by rough country roads to attend the annual meetings. Its one solid contribution was the establishment of a number of "Union" Churches, consisting of members of the three denominations, a real attempt to carry out the ideal of

a European Church in alliance with the coloured congregations. The pressure of denominational loyalties imported from Europe defeated the Alliance, which was dissolved after some ten years, and most of the Union Churches have now become definitely denominational. In 1877 the Congregational Union of South Africa was formed. To-day the Union consists of (in round numbers) one hundred Churches, of which forty are coloured, thirty are native, and thirty European. The white Churches are thus less than a third of the whole. In membership the ratio is as one to five. The White Churches have to find the men for all administrative posts, and the bulk of denominational funds. The coloured Churches contribute about £300 a year, and the native Churches £150. The European Churches have thus a missionary responsibility considerably beyond their capacity. They are by no means whole-heartedly missionary in outlook and interest, but on the whole they compare favourably with similar Churches in England. Their contributions for missionary purposes amount to something like £1,000 a year. Recently they raised a capital sum of £10,000, the interest of which is used to maintain a Union representative, an office on parallel lines to that of the Moderators in England. The response made through the Colonial Missionary Society to the appeal to the English Churches last year for help in men and money has inspired new courage and opened up avenues of progress hitherto closed. It is expected that before long a small army of young ministers will be in the field to fill the gaps caused by the retirement of the "Great Hearts" who have served the coloured Churches for a generation. With new men, and in new hope, the Congregational Union of South Africa will face the coming years.

G. P. FERGUSON.

A PLEA FOR PUBLIC CONTEMPLATION

The usefulest truths are plainest, and while we keep to them our differences cannot rise high.—WILLIAM PENN.

MOST of the churches in Great Britain are more than half empty. Why? A newspaper editor decided to investigate this state of affairs. One Sunday he visited half a dozen churches, and next day published a leading article entitled: "What is wrong with the Churches?" "To no one type of mind is it given to discern the totality of Truth," said William James, and neither the journalist mentioned above nor the writer of this article can claim exemption from this law.

People no longer go to church because it is fashionable, nor do they crowd the pews by sheer force of habit. It is some consolation to think the less insincere atmosphere of to-day partly accounts for

the decline in church-going, but it remains a cold fact that our churches, considered collectively, do not meet the religious needs of the people.

In almost every denomination many recognize that a change in the particular form of Church Service is desirable. Some revise their Prayer-Book, others introduce special musical services ; Church of England clergymen have Evensong in the afternoon and a Congregational Service in the evening ; Nonconformist ministers adopt a liturgy ; on all sides there is talk of re-union. Many of these reforms are laudable, but what are their prospects of ultimate success ? Those who have departed from the conventions of their denomination have generally increased their congregations—partly at the expense of their more conventional brethren. Most of the new-comers, however, are attracted merely by novelty, and when you have got hold of such curious folk—and attraction is a very necessary work of the Church—you still have to change their curiosity into devout worship of God.

That “ something ought to be done ” about our empty churches all agree. What should it be ? Reforms in the way of worship of the kind described are external and do not touch the heart of things. The fundamentally important reform—to quicken the spiritual life of the Churches—is widely recognized, but the difficulty is to find practical means of spiritual reformation.

Both those who attend worship and those who do not must be considered, and—because all Churches are essentially missionary in spirit—it is the “ unchurched ” who should be thought of first.

It is sometimes argued that when special music and other novelties fail to attract the people—even illuminated coloured signs are used in New York—an appeal to more spiritual things is not likely to succeed. To under-estimate the religion of the “ unchurched ” is a common mistake. Very generally it may be said that the youth of Great Britain to-day have strong and not indefinite religious ideals, which are often expressed in very practical ways. In a recently published book Evelyn Underhill writes : “ All who worked among our soldiers at the front were struck by the paradox of the immense amount of natural religion existing among them, combined with almost total alienation from religious institutions.”

This observation applies equally to men of all degrees of education, to the schoolmaster as well as to the coal-miner, and yet most of our churches are more than half empty ! Can it be that part of the blame is their own ?

How do the “ unchurched ” spend their Sundays ? A few of the best work and convince themselves their religion is not a one-day-a-week affair. Not a few study, read poetry, history and other non-fiction, while Sunday concerts and good music are well patronized. Most, however, do not tax their intellect at all. They read novels,

or, more often, only a Sunday newspaper. Outdoor sports are popular, from the long country walk or cycle ride to the game of golf (which is but the mentally lazy man's way of walking). In almost every case change from the week's work is sought.

For "churched" and "unchurched" alike that work is of exceptional strain. To quote Miss Underhill again:

"There is indeed no period in which history exhibits mankind as at once more active, more feverishly self-conscious, and more distracted than is our own bewildered generation." Is it unnatural that an age which has popularized aeroplane travel and wireless telegraphy should be "active"? More than twenty-five years ago a Scottish medical man commented on the "over-expression" of Americans. William James elaborated the subject and warned his countrymen against their "bottled lightning" ideals. A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and it is to be hoped the present generation of Britons will heed this long-spoken warning and not allow themselves to be unduly influenced by American "hustle." Meanwhile, what these active, feverishly self-conscious and distracted men and women most need is detachment from their daily anxieties and rest unto their souls.

The forms of public worship of all the large Protestant Churches have many points in common. The reading of passages of Scripture, congregational singing of hymns, spoken prayers, and sermons are all considered more or less important. The outstanding characteristic, common to all, is an absolute want of elasticity. No one is so bigoted as to believe there is only one narrow formula for worshipping God, yet the slightest change is regarded with suspicion. Is it marvellous there are still sane folk outside the Churches who prefer their "natural" religion?

Consider our public reading of the Bible. The division of its books into chapters and verses is convenient, but could we not more often have read to us from the pulpit a complete passage—say, the whole of the book of Ecclesiastes, or even the Sermon on the Mount? There was a time when education depended on the Church, and the sermon was given a definite place in Sunday services. But Western civilization has now reached a point where intellectual knowledge becomes almost self-expanding. Education has grown from a hamlet to a city, and, being set on a hill, cannot be hid. In this twentieth century would it be a daring thing to suggest that one sermon each Sunday should be dispensed with to make time for, shall we say, a more rational reading of Scripture, or some form of spiritual exercise? In themselves these points may seem trifling, or at most no more than matters of taste, but they make plain the fact that present-day Sunday services lack elasticity.

It is the purpose of this article not to minimize the value of Christian teaching, but to urge that time should be found for public

contemplation, that church life should be so regulated that both the intellectual and the spiritual cravings of man may be satisfied.

Contemplation savours of mysticism, which is sometimes thought to be a neurotic cult. Against such hasty judgment we can quote the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chaplain: "All true mysticism is concerned with the approach of the soul to God"; and is not the approach of the soul to God just what this busy world needs most?

Avoiding the definitions and terms of psychologists, we find the epitome of Richard Rolle sufficient: "Life contemplative hath three parts: they be, reading of Holy Writ, prayer, and meditation."

In public contemplation the congregation would meditate individually on directed lines. For example, after the reading of appropriate Scripture and prayer, the priest or minister might suggest to his congregation one or two lines of thought concerning beauty and holiness, and close with St. Paul's words: "Whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, *think* on these things." Ten minutes' silent contemplation following this exhortation would give practical experience, whereas the best sermon on the subject could not do more than convince the congregation of the need of the experience.

In short, such contemplation is a religious exercise in which each individual takes part without losing the sense of community worship, and yet there is no antagonizing of personalities. It may be thought that contemplation should be kept for private devotion, but to relegate this form of worship to the bedroom and study is to overlook that much-discussed subject, crowd-psychology.

It is not proposed that contemplation should be suddenly introduced, nor indeed would good be done until the novelty had worn off. Concentration of the mind is necessary, and most people need to improve their powers of concentration by practice. At first day-dreaming would, perhaps, be even more common than it now is during sermon time, but after a while practice and the spiritual atmosphere would make meditation possible to all.

The importance of expository sermons and a better understanding of Scripture is fully realized. All that is here pleaded is for time to be found for contemplation. "By the *heart* man believes unto righteousness" as well as by the head. If Sunday by Sunday men and women really felt themselves in the presence of God, is it likely they would ignore week-evening services where Scripture was well expounded?

Nor is contemplation a morbid thing. All the great saints have practised it, those who belonged to the "healthy-minded" class as well as the more ascetic. Listen again to the wisdom of Richard Rolle: "There is nothing more profitable here, nor more joyful, than is the grace of contemplation, the which lifteth us from low things, and presenteth us to God."

Church-going people often have a poor opinion of the "un-churched," and it may be argued that those who will not listen to a sermon are hardly likely to feel "the overwhelming influence of the thing that had not been spoken." "The potentialities of development in human souls are unfathomable," wrote one who spent a lifetime sounding the deeps and shallows of man's nature; and you will never minister to the spiritual needs of anyone without using spiritual means. It is better to set the standard too high than too low.

Finally, this article is written from the viewpoint of young men. It is believed that many who have given up going to church because it "annoys" them would welcome a service of praise, well-expressed prayer, good reading of Scripture, and meditation. Youth is, no doubt, too intolerant of inelasticity, but to help youth some allowance must be made for its foibles. Church services should be such that a man does not need to be a saint before he can benefit by them. A modern poet has voiced the need of our over-active age in these words:

A poor life this if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare.

And is not ours an impoverished religious life if we have no time to stand in the House of God and stare into the heart of eternity?

BERNARD MARTIN.

THE TRAINING OF DEACONS

THE subject of these notes is so worded in order to coincide with that of the "Training of Ministers" in Dr. Selbie's admirable article in the April number.

At the same time one fully realizes its shortcomings. The true training of deacons should be in the Bible class, the pastor's Church preparation class, Church membership, and the general service of the Church, progressing through ten or twenty years until age and character and ability have won the confidence of one's fellow-members.

It has always been my custom in Church preparation classes to speak highly of the diaconal office, and to urge young men to look forward to it as one of their consecrated ambitions—pointing out to them that there are many directions in which a faithful and well-informed deacon can be of greater service than the minister; in fact, that the ministry can never reach its ideal unless it is supported by the spiritually-enlightened co-operation of the diaconate.

A Lancashire friend has just told me that his mission-hall has been condemned because three of its pillars do not touch the

ground. I remember the same thing in a London church some twenty years ago. We have to warn our young men not to be hangers-on, but pillars that hold up the whole work in loyal co-operation with the pastor, always remembering that the minister would be blamed for saying the very same words and doing the same things that would win for a deacon the respect and support of the Church.

As I want to make some suggestions in regard to deacons who have not had long training in Church service and denominational principles, it is perhaps desirable that this should come from one who is just looking forward to the completion of half a century of pastoral work, and who, at the same time, can look back to fellowship with little short of a hundred diaconal colleagues, for the most part with unalloyed satisfaction.

I am fully aware that to suggest their training in any sense is a delicate matter, and explosive elements cover the whole ground! Such a thing, some imagine, should not be whispered outside a "ministers' fraternal"! Let us see whether it is not possible to state a case which will commend itself to the sober judgment of ministers and non-ministers alike.

Is it not the fact that, while a considerable proportion of our deacons are men of ability, well informed, a credit to the sacred office they hold, there are many of whom this cannot be said, except with the kindest reservations? They lack denominational information; their imagination has never been aroused; they do not perceive the essentially spiritual nature of the office.

Things are not what they seem in our Churches. Facts are hard to get at, sometimes they are carefully concealed for fear of giving offence. This is eminently charitable, but it has serious disadvantages. In a system which is voluntary all through we do not speak out the real truth as other corporate bodies do. Success or failure in Church-life is credited or debited to the minister—*vide* paragraphs in the denominational papers, which, as the result of long experience, only make us smile. The fact that the success of the minister depends upon the quality of his staff is apt to be overlooked. There are Churches where none but a fool could fail, and others where not even a rare genius could succeed. Nothing is more true than that a Church makes a minister as often as a minister makes a Church. Success depends on the ability and spiritual insight of the diaconal staff as much as on preaching, and, some of us would say, a good deal more.

Congregations differ immensely in their capacity and calibre. Whereas the pastoral aim is little affected by these wide divergences, the differences in discernment and in capacity of diaconates are simply amazing. There are ministers who feel themselves as lonely as their Master was, with no one to enter sympathetically into their ideals, and no one capable of helping to make them materialize.

It is no slight burden that the Churches place upon those chosen to be deacons. To supervise and administer with the pastor the whole organization ; to see that all things are done decently and in order ; to promote the comfort and convenience of the people ; to give to strangers a discriminating welcome that impresses them favourably ; to visit absentees and defaulters ; to look after the sick, the poor, and the young ; to manage the finances ; to attend to secretarial work ; to practise keeping one's own counsel ; to be an example of sound practical interest in all that concerns the Church's welfare—on these things the prosperity of the Church depends, and for such an office training is essential.

The diaconal election ought to be marked by much prayerful discussion of the office itself. It should be one of the most solemn acts of which the Church is capable. The brethren chosen should be reverently set apart and dedicated to their work in a short special service preceding the Lord's Supper, when the minister can welcome them in the name of the whole fellowship, before they take their places with him at the Table. If this were the spirit of the whole office and function, the election would not be decided by a man's social position or by any other adventitious circumstance. It would turn more than it sometimes does on character, ability, gifts, and the soundness of the work already done in the Church. St. Paul's words about deacons would be wisely weighed, especially the dicta that they "should first be proved," and that they should purchase for themselves a good standing by their fidelity.

What I suggest, therefore, is that it ought to be possible to afford Church officers the kind of help that even the oldest and most experienced would welcome. The minister can do it only in a very limited degree, and to attempt it lacks that moral impression which comes from an organized effort from without.

Within certain areas, such as a "district" in London, or in a township where there are several Churches of our order, or in smaller towns with village Churches around, it would be an untold advantage to organize: (1) A Free Church Officers' Guild, associating various denominations, and meeting, say, once in six months for conference and prayer, when notes could be compared and experiences exchanged. (2) A course of lectures by a pastor possessing extended knowledge of the difficulties of Church officials, or by several men dealing with allotted topics. These meetings should be largely devotional, and the discussions kept strictly to the subject. A syllabus such as the following would supply the points on which even experienced deacons would welcome further light.

1. Bible teaching as to the Diaconate: the examination of all scripture that deals with leadership.
2. The Inward Call to the Office. Even at the risk of alarming

certain conscientious brethren, it ought to be made clear that the call of the Spirit is as needful for deacons as for ministers.

3. The Principles, Polity, and History of Congregationalism. Many deacons know extremely little of these. Some of them were not brought up as Congregationalists; they have never attended our assemblies, and never read a denominational paper.

4. The Relation of the Diaconate to the Minister—in sympathy, co-operation, prayerfulness, mutual protection of each other's reputation, and the common responsibility to one another and to their Divine Lord.

5. The Relation of the Diaconate to the Congregation—developing the idea of Eldership, which implies and involves not merely the conduct of the temporalities, but personal concern for the spiritual welfare of all.

6. The Management of Church Business—involving the serious consideration of those details on attention to which the comfort and prosperity of the Church so much depends. Here, of course, it would be made plain that Church Finance differs fundamentally from the finance of other societies and associations, inasmuch as its first consideration is not pounds, shillings, and pence, but the whole tone, temper, and atmosphere of the Church in its courtesy, sympathy, fellowship, and mutual helpfulness.

7. The Relation of the Deacons to the Young Life of the Congregation, so that they promote the natural increase of the membership, and the development of the activities of young people on sound spiritual principles. The work is so important and its ramifications so numerous that anything that will quicken the spiritual imagination ought to be welcomed.

To close with an illustration in my own experience of the difficulty of securing unity of point of view for lack of training in denominational ideals. Seven men were to be elected as deacons. The Church chose a Churchman, a Baptist, an English Presbyterian, a Scotch Presbyterian, a Wesleyan, a Bible Christian, and a Congregationalist. No one noticed it until I pointed it out some time later, when saying that Congregationalism is the only really catholic body. It would be interesting to know how many of our deacons have had a Congregational upbringing. Without it there is no slight risk of failure on the part of ministers to attain their ideals. Our young men may see visions, but our old men dream dreams which sometimes are but the vagaries of their own uninformed and untrained past.

This is not reflecting upon them unkindly. The failure is not in character nor in general capacity. It results simply from the lack of the sound views that come of training. Many of them are obviously aware of their limitations, and do not care for the office, but have a real desire to be of service to their Church.

Is it not probable that they would welcome such help as I have suggested? To enlarge their horizon, and, above all, to lead them to a deeper faith in forces and methods which are distinctly spiritual would bring new life to many a depressed and decadent Church.

EDWIN JOSHUA DUKES.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND ITS YOUNG PEOPLE

THE launching of the Young People's Fellowship at the Autumnal Meetings of the Union at Bristol in 1921 marked an advance in the place of youth in the mind of our Churches. Some such movement is the inevitable result of the graded method of education now being followed in most of our schools, a method which is robbed of its fruit if it be not supplemented by some such development as the Fellowship represents. For a long time past our attention has been divided between the child and the adult in school and Church, leaving a wide gap through which a great number of the growing youth of our Churches have passed out of our care. It is not merely or mainly a matter of organization, but of our whole attitude to youth and its relation to the Church. Of the value of the Church to youth we have made much, and might make more, but of the value of youth to our Churches we have not made enough. Not only because the youth of to-day will be the Church of to-morrow, but that youth, while it remains young, and because it is young, has a value for the Church it can afford neither to neglect nor despise. And this value is measured not according to the extent youth adopts the ideas and imitates the practices of older and even perhaps better and wiser people, but according to the contribution it is encouraged to make of its own thought, however crude, and the freedom it is given to strike out new lines of adventurous living in the spirit of the Christian faith.

Young people are not always as confident as they are supposed to be that they can do things better than their elders, whose ideas are more or less fixed and whose ways are set, but they do desire to be given the opportunity of working out their own salvation in their own way. Otherwise it means driving them into a spiritual cul-de-sac through which there is no thoroughfare for their more adventurous spirits.

As Opal Whitely quaintly expresses it in her Diary, youth is the time for "explores," when the beaten track has no attraction, simply because it is beaten. It may be the shortest cut, but youth has other considerations than speed, and believes with Stevenson that there is a period when it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive. The young Meccano enthusiast is not the boy who patiently plods his way through the book of models, but the boy who tries to make a model of

his own. A boy who was reading the story of Shackleton's expedition said to his father: "Father, can I go and discover an island?" "Oh," answered the father, a little patronizingly, "they have all been discovered!" "But," replied the boy impatiently, "I don't mean that sort of island. I mean the ones no one ever has discovered!" It is not the uncharted map our youthful mariners are asking for, but for a chance to take a turn in the engine-room and to share the night watch, and occasionally to be given charge, not of the whole ship, but of a small boat in which with a few others they may go and explore some hidden creek or uninhabited island. The value of youth lies in being what it is, not in trying to appear what it is not and was never intended to be. Its very unripeness and inexperience, its cocksureness and daring, its hopes and fears, its faith and its follies, are all part of its value to the Church. Youth counts for God in the great scheme of things, not as it repeats the habits and recites the creeds formed of the wisdom and experience of a bygone age, but as it ventures itself and all that it has in some new hazard of faith that may take it far from the moorings of its first security, and cause it to face real perils, but will, with wise and sympathetic guidance, yield to it and to the Church a richer and fuller life. To regard our young people as the potential deacons of the Church is to miss the actual value of their life to the Church now. What they are and are seeking to be and to do now matters far more to the Church than what they will be in ten years or more. They will never be the same again; and their place in and their value for our Churches depends upon the freshness of experience and outlook which are the peculiar possession of youth.

Are our Churches as a whole alive to the rich possibilities of faith and service that lie undeveloped in our young people? Are we providing opportunities for using this wealth which belongs to Christ quite as much as do the most sober and solid qualities that go with maturer years and riper faith? Not only in the staffing of our Sunday-schools and the officering of our young people's societies, but in the development of a Church consciousness that has nothing to do with ritual, but everything to do with life, and in the gradual acceptance of those loyalties and responsibilities that are the finest training for Christian citizenship.

The methods by which this may be accomplished will vary according to local conditions, and the Young People's Fellowship is less concerned with methods than with general principles and such practical application of these as past experience has proved helpful and future experiment may improve upon. Whether these take the form of Young People's Councils created by the Church and charged with the responsibility and granted the privilege of organizing their own service and of co-ordinating their activities with one another and relating all their enthusiasms and ideals to the life and purpose of the

Church as a whole, or whether they are invited to a place on our diaconates to voice the needs and aims of youth, is a matter to be decided by the local Church with full knowledge of its own problems and full sympathy with its own young life. Not only because we are Congregationalists and do not suffer direction gladly and dictation not at all, but because we are dealing with the aspirations of young people on the assumption that they have something to give which the Church has not got, is it inadvisable to elaborate methods or multiply organizations. Those who are familiar with the Young People's Fellowship know how intentionally fluid and tentative it is in all that pertains to method. It offers such guidance as practical experience has proved very successful in a number of Churches as to ways in which our young people may be won for the Church and its life, but it is in the main a plea that a larger measure of trust and a bigger and more challenging share of responsibility shall be offered to our youth. We cannot go on losing our young manhood and womanhood at the rate of the past few years, nor need we. Shy as many of them are, critical as nearly all of them are, their predominant feeling towards the Churches is one neither of indifference nor of hostility, but a feeling that there is no place for them—not in its public services where their ambitions seldom tend, but in the development of its inner life and its corporate service, and in the application of its gospel to the thousand and one practical interests of their own daily life. We have proved the value of Youth to the Empire. What is its value to the Kingdom of God? On our answer to that question depends the future of our Churches and the causes to which they stand pledged. The Young People's Fellowship is helping us to answer that question, and the result is going far to solve the problem, not only of how to retain our youth, but how to use their rich and splendid gifts for the furtherance of the cause of the Kingdom of God. With loving patience, with understanding sympathy, a willingness to stand aside when assistance might have the appearance of interference, yet offering to them all that experience can give of suggestion, counsel and advice, it is possible to convince our young people that there is a larger place for them and a more generous welcome to them in our Churches than they now think. Most Churches have some memorial or other to the young men who fell in the war; beautiful as these may be, the truest memorial lies in the recognition that "without us"—the youth of to-day—even "they will not be made perfect."

ERNEST J. BARSON.

FOREIGN IMPRESSIONS AND REVIEWS

Catholicism and Protestantism.

The Dean of St. Paul's in the April number of the *Atlantic Monthly* discussed the question whether Protestantism was a spent force and whether the Christianity of the future was likely to be a Catholic Christianity. Dr. Griffith-Jones in an able and striking speech during our own May Meetings this year suggested that England might be in danger of reverting to Catholicism simply through the operations of the birth-rate, and not through any special success or aggressiveness in its propaganda. We propose to consider the remarks of these distinguished representatives of British Christianity from the standpoint of foreign experience. As Dr. Inge says, the easiest, but not the most satisfactory, way of determining whether Catholicism is increasing at the expense of Protestantism is to count heads, comparing one census with another. At the same time it must be said that statements that represent merely general impressions, and have no statistical basis whatever, have a doubtful value, and may even be misleading. Dr. Griffith-Jones's remarks were not of this character, but they were challenging and thought-provoking, as he intended them to be. Some years ago this problem was considered by Dr. Meyrick Booth in an article in the *Hibbert Journal* (1914) entitled "Religious Belief as affecting the Growth of Population." The point that specially interested him and to which he devoted chief attention was how far the movement of population affected the position and the prospects of Protestantism. He took a wide survey which included Great Britain, France, Germany, Canada, and the United States, and he concluded from his study of data from all these that Catholicism was advancing at the expense of Protestantism through the greater fecundity of Catholic families. In his comparison of provincial towns and London boroughs and of districts and departments in France he endeavoured to show that the birth-rate was higher where there was a numerous Catholic population, or (as in the case of France) where the people had retained their allegiance to the traditional Church. The problem is complicated in the case of some large English towns like Liverpool, Salford, Manchester, and Glasgow by a fairly strong Jewish element, and further complicated by the well-known fact that a high birth-rate always indicates a low state of civilization, as for instance in Ireland, South Italy, and Poland.

The situation in two of the smaller European countries is especially interesting and significant. In Switzerland a Protestant and a Catholic population exist side by side. The *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz* (*Statistical Yearbook of Switzerland*, 1922) gives us a comparison for the years 1910 and 1920, with the following results:

Year.	Protestant.	Catholic.
1910 . . .	2,107,814	1,593,538
1920 . . .	2,218,589	1,586,826

These figures show a Protestant increase of over 100,000 and a Catholic decrease of over 6,000. There are no tables in the yearbook that indicate the size of the families in each case.

Belgium is a Catholic country, in which the Protestant element is almost negligible. The *Annuaire Statistique de Belgique* for 1922 reveals a decreasing birth-rate, and increasing number of civil marriages and of divorces. The figures are as follows :

Year.	Births (per 1,000 of the Population).	Divorces.
1891 . . .	29·65	402
1901 . . .	29·42	821
1911 . . .	22·94	1,081
1920 . . .	21·49	2,195

Civil marriages { 1884 . . 39,205
1910 . . 58,776

Holland would be a fruitful country for examination, for the two Confessions exist side by side, and there is a steady increase of population. Unfortunately, the British Museum has no statistical data since 1901. This is much to be regretted, as repeated visits to all parts of Holland have left in the mind of the writer the impression of a considerable increase of Catholicism. It is frankly admitted, however, that such impressions have little real value.

We turn now to a brief examination of the available data from Germany. On a recent visit to that country the writer secured the official yearbooks of the Catholic and Protestant Churches—the *Kirchliches Handbuch für das katholische Deutschland*, 1923, and the *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die evangelischen Landeskirchen Deutschlands*, 1922. He has also had before him a series of interesting articles on "Catholicism and Protestantism" in *Die Christliche Welt*, which ran through January, February, and March this year. These are sources of information, statistical and otherwise, whereby one may form a judgment on the relative strengths of the two Confessions. At the same time it is by no means easy to give in a short space a concise statement of the position. For one thing the war years and the years since the war have been so abnormal that all statistical work has been interrupted. Again it is disappointing to find that there are no tables to indicate the relative sizes of Catholic and Protestant families. Further, it must not be forgotten that Catholicism has been more heavily hit than Protestantism by the loss of territory. From this cause alone the former has lost 4,495,953 adherents and the latter only 1,873,618. While this, of course, does not affect the position of the Catholic Church as a whole, it does seriously affect it from a purely German standpoint, and it is with that that we are, for the moment, concerned. Conversions either way, i.e. from Catholicism to Protestantism, or vice versa, are inconsiderable and almost balance each other, confirming Dr. Inge's view that "there is only a thin trickle of conversions." But the so-called "Austrittsbewegung" (the movement whereby membership of the Church is formally and legally renounced) is significant and considerable. The numbers of those who thus withdrew from the Evangelical Churches in Germany mounted from 12,296 in 1910 to 305,245 in 1920, an enormous increase in ten years. The official statistics describe this bluntly as an exchange with atheism, and the cynical regard it as an evidence of the desire to escape from the Church tax. The large increase in withdrawals in 1919 is explained by the Law of the 13th of December, 1918, which greatly facilitated and simplified the procedure of withdrawal. The withdrawals from the Catholic Church

were not nearly so numerous, and, including the 11,017 converts to Protestantism, amounted in the year 1921 to 39,970.

All these facts must be taken into account when we come to consider the numerical strength of the two Confessions. We cannot suppose that changes and variations in the numbers are due alone to changes and variations in the birth-rate. We now proceed to bring Dr. Meyrick Booth's figures (cf. *Hibbert Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 146) up to date, or at least up to 1920.

Year.	Protestant.		Catholic.	
	Population (Millions).	Per cent. of Population.	Population (Millions).	Per cent. of Population.
1900	35.0	62.5	20.0	36.1
1905	37.6	62.1	22.0	36.5
1910	40.0	61.6	24.0	36.7
1920	38.1	65.2	19.3	33.1

This is the exact position as far as Germany is concerned. The reason of the large decrease of Catholics in 1920 has been already explained, and has little or nothing to do with the birth-rate; they are not a loss to the Catholic Church, but merely to the German dioceses of that Church. The relative strength of Protestantism, as far as numbers are concerned, has increased. The years 1900 to 1910 show that both Catholics and Protestants increased, and that the former gained slightly on the latter. This gain is not sufficient to justify undue anxiety or alarm for the future of Protestantism, at least from the point of view of the birth-rate.

Further, there is a steady increase in the number of mixed marriages (i.e. where one parent is Roman Catholic and the other a Protestant), which is greatly deplored by the Catholic authorities (14.2 per cent. in 1913; 16.6 per cent. in 1920 in Prussia only). In Schleswig-Holstein, of every 100 Catholic marriages, 74.6 were mixed in the year 1920. The only Prussian Province that does not show an increase is the Province of Saxony.

Catholic authorities recognize the growth of birth-control in Catholic circles. They wage relentless war against it. This is carried on chiefly through the confessional, as the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Browne stated before the first Birth-rate Commission (cf. *Report*, 1916, p. 400): "Where there is a strict practice of frequenting the sacraments and therefore of going to confession at least several times a year, then there is a check. Where there is not, it means that people do not go because they do not want to get tripped up." We may conclude that in the circles where the people keep out of the way of the possibility of discipline the ordinary motives that inspire birth-control would operate as in other Confessions. In this connexion it does appear that there is a fundamental difference between a nominal and a practising Catholic. People whose contact with their Church is only at birth, marriage, and death are classified statistically as Catholics, but with reference to the particular problem before us they are pretty much on the same level or in the same category as other people. It is for this reason that we agree with Dr. Inge that the mere counting of heads and the comparing of statistical tables is not a very satisfactory way of determining whether Catholicism is increasing at the expense of Protestantism. It is not only difficult to isolate the effect of the birth-rate from the effect of other factors that determine the growth or otherwise

of a population, but the birth-rate itself must be considered in relation to the death-rate. For instance, Mr. Harold Cox has shown in his *Problem of the Population* (1922, p. 26) that in British India in the year 1919 the birth-rate stood at 30 per 1,000 of the population, but the death-rate at 36, making the survival rate minus 6. In the corresponding year in England and Wales the birth-rate stood at $18\frac{1}{2}$ and the death-rate at $13\frac{1}{2}$, making a survival value of plus 5.

It appears to us that there is not much advantage to Catholicism in having a large number of Catholic babies unless they make good Catholics, and to make good Catholics they must not only survive, but they must also practise their religion. So we are inclined to urge that it is the quality and not the quantity of the adherents of a Church that matters most and that determines its influence. We hope to return to this subject and give some account of life and movements within the two Confessions.

Essais de Folklore Biblique. By P. SAINTYVES. Paris: Émile Nourry. 1923. 20fr.

The writings of Sir James Frazer, and particularly his *Folklore in the Old Testament*, have familiarized us with the application of the comparative method to the study of Hebrew antiquities. Modern research almost irresistibly forces us to the conclusion that all civilized races have emerged from a state of savagery similar to that in which many backward races have continued to the present time. Traces of an older and ruder mode of life and thought survive in language, rite, custom, law, and belief. Often a remarkable likeness between these traces among different peoples is to be found. This at one time suggested borrowing, but now it is more often regarded as due to the reactions of a similar type of mind in the presence of similar surroundings. Though the Hebrews attained to a unique elevation in their moral and spiritual experience, and produced a literature that will always enrich the life of the world, there is no reason to suppose that they are an exception to the general rule. Their language and their literature, their rites and their institutions, suggest an earlier stage or earlier stages through which they have passed not unlike those through which other races have passed. The comparative study of these relics of the past and the light thrown upon them by the institutions and beliefs of primitive peoples living in the world to-day, constitute that branch of Anthropology which is described as Folklore.

It is a fascinating subject with an ever-growing literature to which many of our missionaries have contributed important monographs. At the same time, as Sir James Frazer points out, the subject is still in its infancy, and our theories merely provisional and tentative, "pigeon-holes in which temporarily to sort the multitude of facts, not iron moulds in which to cast them for ever." These are wise words, and the restraint and reserve that Sir James Frazer shows admirably illustrate them. M. Saintyves is bolder—shall we say rasher? He goes over much of the same ground and quotes the same authorities, but he carries his investigations further, including both the New Testament and the Lives of the Saints in his survey. In fact, these have more importance for him than the rites and the customs of primitive peoples. From M. Saintyves' treatment of his material we conclude that he regards the infant stage of the subject as having passed. Hypotheses and theories need no longer be stated tentatively, but confidently and even dogmatically. Sir James Frazer is engaged in collecting material, marshalling facts drawn from all literatures and from all races, ancient and modern, primitive and civilized, pagan and Christian.

M. Saintyves is a little impatient with this. He says (p. 209): "It

would serve no useful purpose to give further illustrations which only tend to weary the reader by their number and their monotony." Perhaps we have felt this in reading *The Golden Bough*, and *Folklore in the Old Testament*. How many people who have read and re-read Darwin's *Origin of Species* have read his *Variations of Animals and Plants*, which contains the data for the former book? The difference between Sir James Frazer and M. Saintyves is in our judgment a difference between their estimate of the stage which the subject has reached. The former does not think that the evidence warrants at present a theoretical construction, but the latter boldly carries it forward to another and higher stage, and announces theories that are, in his view, undoubtedly correct and true. Even if we decline to accept these theories we cannot but admire the skill with which they are formulated. M. Saintyves' book is an adventure in a field of research of extraordinary interest. All through he shows great acuteness and subtlety of mind and absolute fearlessness, and even if he is wrong or premature in many of his conclusions, he is certainly stimulating and challenging.

As we have already said, the book has a wide scope. It embraces the Old and the New Testaments, classical times and primitive paganism, and gives a large place to Christian Hagiography. This is all to the good, in so far as it exhibits the unity of human experience and points to a long and venerable tradition, older than our oldest literature and universal in its scope, the result of ages of spiritual thinking and experience under varied conditions.

M. Saintyves has selected for consideration some striking and familiar themes. The first of these is the ritual and the divinatory use of fire. It combats physical evil, and by a natural and inevitable process of thought is regarded as combating moral evil. Israelites, Syrians, Greeks, Romans came to think that when the fire consumed the sacrifice it was a favourable augury and was an expression of the divine acceptance and approval. The renewal of the sacred fire on Holy Saturday in Jerusalem and all the rites connected with it link up the experience of later times with that of the most ancient. Many Old Testament passages refer to the fire of Jehovah or the fire from heaven as a sign of His approbation or of His anger. The consuming of a sacrifice by fire from heaven is not confined to the incident on Mount Carmel. It burnt the cakes of Gideon (Judges 6²¹) and consumed the burnt offering of Solomon (2 Chron. 7¹). The story of Pentecost and the "tongues parting asunder like as of fire," points to an ancient rite of purification and initiation by fire considered as the agent of deity (p. 39). In M. Saintyves' view the rite is not the commemoration of a miracle, but the miracle is "l'exégèse" of the rite. This is a constantly repeated formula and embodies his contribution to the theory of the subject. Fundamentally the rite is connected with the seasons. "It is not to be doubted that its object is to draw to the earth the flame and the virtue of the sun."

M. Saintyves' study of Aaron's rod and of the staff that blossoms is very suggestive. A large number of parallels are given from the lives of the Saints showing how this miracle has been utilized to exalt the obedience or to glorify some holy person. Rods, staves, arrows, crosses blossom and indicate the divine approval. Budding or grafting is a veritable miracle to children, and is invested with a sacred character by primitive peoples. Priests have made use of it to deceive them, but "they are more often the deceived than the deceivers." Cases are quoted to prove that it is an ancient form of the judgment of the gods. For example, a stake is thrown at a holy bishop by a malicious enemy. It misses him and is fixed in the earth, where it soon blossoms. The budding rod demonstrates the innocence

of an accused person, and is a heavenly sign that penitence is accepted and sins pardoned. It becomes a guide in the choice of a profession, particularly of a sacred one. The wonders operated by the rod of Moses result from his quality as a messenger of God (p. 91). In Christian times, kings, pontiffs, and priests regard it as an oracle demonstrating a divine call to their high offices. It becomes also a rite of possession. The budding rod establishes a claim to a conquered country, and marks a site for the erection of a house or a temple, a church or a monastery. M. Saintyves connects the customs of the Christmas tree and their decoration with this rite. In his view the blossoming of the rod is not merely a miracle, it is a rite designed to provoke the coming of spring-time and to symbolize the descent of the divine grace to the hearts of the faithful.

In the chapter on "the water that bursts from a rock" M. Saintyves describes the rites that are designed to secure this result. He tells us that stones and rocks were regarded as having fallen from heaven and as having preserved in their passage through the clouds a special virtue which primitive man sought to exploit by appropriate rites. The incidents in the life of Moses that illustrate this are familiar. The canonical Gospels and the Acts contain no reference to it, but the Armenian Gospel of the Infancy tells the story of Jesus, who when five years old struck a rock to supply his thirsty companions with water. M. Saintyves finds echoes of it in the Gospels, though I cannot see what John 7³⁷⁻³⁹ has to do with it. He does not appear to recognize the restraint of the canonical Gospels when compared with the apocryphal.

The march round the walls of Jericho and their fall is discussed with reference to a large number of primitive and Christian rites that have as their end either the destruction or the protection of a town or dwelling. In general, ambulatory ceremonies are designed for happy ends. Frazer gives some interesting illustrations of this in *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* (p. 141), quoting the Rev. W. C. Willoughby's account (from Bechuanaland) of the stripped hide of a bull, which surrounded a new village with a protective charm.

The chapters on the transformation of water into wine and the multiplication of the loaves and the fishes brings us into the Gospel narratives and raises questions of great importance which we cannot overlook. Here again he makes the miracles "the exegesis of a rite" originally designed to produce an abundant harvest. Later in Christian times it is used sometimes to exalt the Mass and sometimes to demonstrate the excellence of fasting or of charity. It is easy and perhaps popular to suppose that these Gospel miracles and also the walking on the water have been, so to say, grafted into the narratives in order to illustrate and enforce some great spiritual truth that could not be otherwise conveyed. A generation ago, as Dr. Headlam points out in *The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ* (p. 194) similar arguments (which few regard to-day as valid) were urged against the healing miracles. Scientific methods change from time to time, and it is conceivable that further changes may come which may make new theories about miracles possible. At least we would urge that the becoming attitude is not one of dogmatism either way. Here Sir James Frazer's caution and warning against "iron moulds" is valuable. An easy solution, even if it is an ingenious and clever one, arouses suspicion. It may be for many of us that a suspended judgment is the only possible course. This at any rate leaves the way open for the unexpected, and how often in the history of life and thought this has happened.

We have left ourselves little space to refer to the chapters on the ring of Polycrates, the coin in the fish's mouth, the thunder at the

Passion, and the seamless robe, all of them full of fact and ingenious suggestion.

This is an extraordinarily interesting and able book. It is a continual challenge to the traditional standpoint, and though in our judgment some of its conclusions are premature and its formulæ a little too rigid, it clears up obscure points in the Scriptures; while many of us who love these Scriptures, and find in them the guidance that we sorely need, may hesitate to accept the explanations, we should at any rate give them most earnest and critical examination.

Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse. By SIGMUND FREUD. Leipzig: Psychoanalytischer Verlag. 1921. Price uncertain.

Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. By SIGMUND FREUD. Translated by JAMES STRACHEY. London and Vienna: International Psycho-analytical Press. 1922. 7s. 6d.

It will be noticed that the second of these two books is a translation of the first. For the benefit of our readers who do not read German we shall quote from the translation, which is a good one, and which has some useful additional notes on Freud's use of terms. The German word "Masse" is translated by "Group." Freud uses "Masse" to render both Professor McDougall's "group" (cf. *The Group Mind*, 1920) and M. Le Bon's "foule" or "crowd" (cf. *Psychologie des Foules*, 1907). He uses the German word "Herde" for the corresponding English word "herd" in Trotter's *Instinct of the Herd in Peace and War* (1920, 2nd ed.).

In speaking of "Group Psychology" it has now become usual to leave out of account an individual's relations with a single person or a small number of persons, e.g. parents and intimate friends, and to concentrate attention upon his relations with a large number of people, e.g. a race, a nation, a caste, a profession, an institution, or a crowd, which has been organized into a group at some particular time for some definite purpose. This usage has its disadvantages, because undoubtedly the social instinct has its beginnings in the narrower circle of the family.

Freud begins with an analysis of Le Bon's *Psychology of Crowds*, which he regards as a pioneer work. The particular fact that Le Bon investigated with original insight and wealth of illustration was the transformation wrought in an individual through the action of a group whereby he is made to think, feel, and act in a manner quite different from that in which he would think, feel, and act as an isolated person. Under this influence his particular acquirements become obliterated and the unconscious emerges; in Freud's view the repressions are thrown off. Further, the group phenomenon, described as a contagion and said to be of an hypnotic character, leads the individual to sacrifice his personal interest to the collective interest. A third cause that operates is suggestibility, to which the individual is specially liable as one of a group or crowd. Thus he is no longer himself, but has become "an automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will" (cf. p. 12). In Le Bon's view he descends several rungs in the ladder of civilization. "Isolated, he may be a cultured individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian." Freud, however, thinks that Le Bon under-estimates the fact that "under the influence of suggestion the group may be capable of high achievement in the shape of abnegation, unselfishness, and devotion to an ideal (p. 17). He also thinks that Le Bon has overlooked the importance of the influence of a leader. We shall notice later what Freud has to say about this.

The review of Le Bon's work is followed by an account of McDougall's *Group Mind*. This work is well known and is readily accessible, so we shall

not devote much space to Freud's analysis of it. It is a very important book, and emphasizes the "exaltation of emotion" as the most important result of the formation of a group. The individual loses his power of criticism and lets himself slip into the same emotion as sways the others. Lower intelligences bring down those of a higher order to their own level.

Freud then devotes a chapter to Suggestion and Libido. In this he endeavours to discover the psychological explanation of the mental change which is experienced by the individual in the group. He dismisses Tarde's view that suggestion is really imitation, and finds that the concept "Libido" throws the most light upon it. Libido, as we know from Freud's other writings, is an expression taken from his theory of the emotions. "It is the energy of those instincts which have to do with all that may be comprised under the word love" (p. 37). This is his main contribution to the science of Group Psychology. He illustrates by an analysis of two artificial groups, the Church and the Army, and maintains that "the essence of a group lies in the libidal ties existing in it" (p. 45). In the Church and the Army each individual is bound by these ties, on the one hand to the leader (Christ and the Commander-in-Chief), and on the other hand to the members of the group. This is a valuable element in his theory, provided we strip the word libidal of its sexual implications. Freud himself seems to suggest this when he says that "Love alone acts as a civilizing factor in the sense that it brings a change from egoism to altruism" (p. 57). These libidal ties he further describes as exhibiting Identification, which is the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person, and is found in the life of the family. "The mutual tie between members of a group is in the nature of an identification of this kind, based on an important emotional common quality; and we may suspect that this common quality lies in the nature of the tie with the leader" (p. 66). In this connexion his chief criticism of Trotter's *Herd Instinct* is that the function of the leader is overlooked, and that he has been too much influenced by the antipathies let loose by the great war.

In the last chapter on "A Differentiating Grade of the Ego," we have an analysis of the effect of the various group minds, those of his race, class, creed, nationality, etc., on the ego-ideal of the individual, producing oscillations from an excessive depression through some kind of intermediate state to an exalted sense of well-being. A postscript contains among other things an interesting account of the origin of myth, which in Freud's view marks the step by which the individual emerges from group psychology (cf. p. 114).

We would urge our readers to read this book with its valuable criticisms of Le Bon, Trotter, and McDougall, and its own important contributions to social psychology.

W. BLACKSHAW.

CURRENT LITERATURE

"Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."—FRANCIS BACON.

"A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."—JOHN MILTON.

(The place of publication is London, and the date 1923, unless otherwise stated.)

Early Reminiscences: 1834-1864. By S. BARING-GOULD. John Lane. 16s.

The Life of George Cadbury. By A. G. GARDINER. Cassell. 10s. 6d.

Woodbrooke: Its History and Aims. By ARNOLD S. ROWNTREE. Friends' Bookshop and Robert Davis (Birmingham) 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d.

Cavalier and Roundhead did not differ so much in their outlook on life as did Sabine Baring-Gould and George Cadbury. To read these accounts of their lives at the same time is to recognize the great gulf that is fixed between a man for whom life is based on class distinction, and one for whom all men are essentially equal.

Mr. Baring-Gould's *Early Reminiscences* can only be described as an extraordinary production. The reader sets out kindly disposed to a veteran of nearly ninety, who has written much and had a very varied career. He is disarmed by the admission that the book is a "rag-bag" full of all kinds of scraps, and he is willing to overlook the disorder, repetition and garrulity for the sake of the many good stories scattered here and there. Neither age, class, nor creed, however, can excuse the intolerance that disfigures the book—bigotry in its religious, snobbery in its social expression. We are told of a bishop "whose name was Barnabas, and was a man of no family"; Luther and Zwingli were immoral, and "the Lutheran doctrine of Free Justification by Faith only would seem to breed immorality." (It would be interesting to learn the explanation of the statement that in 1857 in 79 parishes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin *all* the births were illegitimate.)

The Pilgrim Fathers "were a parcel of ill-conditioned, cantankerous rascals of whom England was well rid, and considering the hideous murders of unfortunate witches that they committed, and the barbarities of which they were guilty perpetrated on the Quakers, my regret was that the old slave *Mayflower* had not sunk on the voyage and taken the whole set to the bottom of the Atlantic to feed the fishes." They "left Holland because they did not approve of the way in which the Dutch Calvinists neglected to keep the 'Sabbath.' Moreover, they were torn into factions, denouncing and excommunicating one another. It was but one of these factions that started to find a home in a New Land, where they might bully and imprison and put to death such as did not agree with them."

Mr. Baring-Gould has lived, and still lives—for he can get a charwoman at 2s. 6d. a day and her food, which he thinks a very high figure—in a strange world. He holds that a "dissenting minister" is not so hard-pressed as the clergyman who has to preach twice a week! Had he been to a public school, had he mixed freely with men of all classes and creeds

and seen life as it really is, these reminiscences might have formed a helpful and charming book. It is a great pity that some friend did not exercise a kind and judicious censorship.

It is a relief to turn to Mr. Gardiner's admirable summary of a striking career, the secret—as well as the many-sided activity—of which is revealed in words spoken by Dr. H. T. Hodgkin in 1922.

“All through his life George Cadbury was dreaming noble dreams, not for himself, but for others. He dreamed of a garden city; he dreamed of a model factory with perfect friendliness among all; he dreamed of a college where men and women of all lands and from all Churches should live and study together; he dreamed of homes for the children and for the cripples, where joy could be given for the joyless; he dreamed of a great paper that would stand for peace and justice and rise above passion and prejudice. In the last crowning months of his life he was often dreaming of China.”

Mr. Gardiner was well equipped both by personal knowledge and by ability for his task, and he has given us a vivid impression of one who lived “ever in the great Taskmaster's eye.”

A useful addendum to Mr. Gardiner's biography is furnished by Mr. Rowntree's account of Woodbrooke, which shows how the Friends have tackled *their* problem of the ministry, and at the same time assisted many outside their community to fit themselves for wider service. John Wilhelm Rowntree, Rendel Harris, Isaac Braithwaite, and George Cadbury, were among the leaders and early administrators of a venture which has proved abundantly successful. Mr. Rowntree tells the story of Woodbrooke from its inauguration to the present time, indicates the cosmopolitan character of the students, and outlines the curriculum. Many will read his little book with keen interest.

EDITOR.

The Children of England. By J. J. FINDLAY. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

Freedom and Growth. By EDMOND HOLMES. Dent. 7s. 6d.

These very stimulating books on education approach the subject from quite different angles. Professor Findlay's “Contribution to Social History and to Education” is really an “Outline of English History” written, not with eyes on monarchs or warriors or even on the English people, but on the children. He shows how the passing centuries have affected the child's life and status, training and outlook. Having summarized what a child's education in the use of tools, etc., would be in the earliest days, he passes on to show how poverty and trade, the struggle between the English and French languages for mastery, the invention of printing, the change from agriculture to industry, etc., etc., have influenced the children. It is a story fascinating in its interest and lending itself to a thousand and one illustrations. In the “age of chivalry,” part of the education of the boy who would be a cavalier was to groom and saddle a horse. In Puritan times “devil” and “hell” had real and horrible significance to children; now they “are just naughty words used by people who have lost their temper or have not been taught to speak nicely.”

Professor Findlay's chapters dealing with the modern situation are just as interesting. He believes that once again education should include the use of tools, that the boy should use the spade as well as the bat—and with as much persistence—and that he should lay the turf on which he plays and mend the bat he breaks. There is a useful collection of notes and references. *Elizabeth Parker* (p. 224) should be *Irene*.

Mr. Edmond Holmes's views on education are well known. He retired from his post as H.M.I. in 1910, having been an inspector of elementary schools for thirty-six years, and he has here reprinted articles published in various journals, mainly during the last four years. His essays are the result of long experience and careful thought, and we have read them with pleasure and profit. They deal mainly with education, but occasionally there is a philosophical essay, and "Does Contemporary Scholarship do Justice to the Teaching of Jesus?" criticizes Vol. I of *The Beginnings of Christianity*. The note running through the volume is expressed in the well-chosen title. Mr. Holmes's reiterated plea is for freedom; his *bête noire* is the "dogmatic, dictatorial, disciplinary type of education." Freedom and responsibility should be given "in generous measure to the teacher, and through the teacher to the child."

"If you treat a man as a machine, and do your best to turn him into a machine, it is unfair to expect him to act at a moment's notice as an intelligent and responsible being."

In religious training the same principle must be observed. Children should not be crammed for an examination by a Diocesan Inspector, but "practice must come first, the practice of pure religion and undefiled." The Christian Church has been mistaken in following *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus* rather than Jesus; the child should be given love and sympathy, freedom for self-development, and space to grow in. To Mr. Holmes, in education as in philosophy, there is no rigidity and no finality, but continual search and development.

"Things won are done; joy's soul lies in the doing."

EDITOR.

Nevertheless We Believe. By A. BOYD SCOTT, M.C., B.D. Hodder. 6s.

It is a pleasure to read and to commend this book—"a Scottish Minister's Belief"—packed as it is with careful thought and sound common sense. Mr. Boyd Scott examines the phrases of the Apostles' Creed and the themes they suggest in a way that is modern and tolerant, and yet careful not to offend conservative minds. He has much that is wise to say on the use and value of creeds, and his interpretation of an ancient creed in the light God has shed is of great service. He can write with glow and fervour—witness Study 4, "The Story of Jesus of Nazareth"—and he has the gift of summing up aptly and succinctly the theories of other writers and periods, e.g. Study 5. Mr. Boyd Scott feels that Dr. Denney's suggested Credo—"I believe in God through Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord and Saviour"—is too bare, and his examination of the Apostles' Creed results in the following:—

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Redeemer and Lord: who suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried: He triumphed in His death: after His Passion He showed Himself alive: He returned to the Father: I believe in Him as the Judge of all, and in the consummation of His Kingdom: I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, visible and invisible, in earth and heaven: the forgiveness of sins: in victory over the grave, and eternal life through Christ."

EDITOR.

Letters of Principal T. M. Lindsay to Janet Ross. Constable. 18s.

T. M. Lindsay was born in 1843, and after a brilliant University career became a professor at Glasgow U. F. College at the age of twenty-nine. As

defender of Robertson Smith, ecclesiastical statesman, College administrator (he became Principal at Glasgow in 1902), and, above all, as Church historian, he became widely known, and his *History of the Reformation* at once took rank as authoritative. He met Mrs. Ross, already a writer on Florentine history, in 1906, and from thence to Lindsay's death, in 1914, there was a constant interchange of letters, interrupted only by Lindsay's frequent visits to Mrs. Ross's home in Florence. Letters from a scholar whose range of interests was so wide as Lindsay's could not fail to be striking, especially when written to one capable of understanding the studies to which he had given his life. They are packed with information, often out-of-the-way, and sometimes humorous, and yet in them all we see a very human figure—the twinkle in the eye, missing from the portrait, is seen in the correspondence. Lindsay's long fight with bodily weakness evokes admiration for one who, so handicapped, still rendered such conspicuous service to scholarship and to his Church. We are glad Mrs. Ross has shared with us these letters from her friend; we only wish her publishers had issued them at a price more suited to the pocket of most scholars.

EDITOR.

A Story of Church Unity. By NEWMAN SMYTH, D.D. Yale and Oxford: University Presses. 4s. 6d.

Dr. Smyth and Professor Williston Walker have been the Congregational leaders in the attempt to bring about a measure of unity between the Episcopal and Congregational Churches in the United States. The present work continues the story of *Approaches to Church Unity*, 1920, but bears, alas! Dr. Smyth's name only. It takes into account the Lambeth Appeal as well as American negotiations. Events have moved faster than the chronicle, however, for Bishop Brewster has declined to ordain Professor R. H. Bainton on his appeal for ordination under the 1922 Concordat round which Dr. Smyth's book centres. While discussions were proceeding it was asked whether the Congregationalists were sufficiently organized to "deliver the goods" if their representatives signed a Concordat. Dr. Smyth, whose patience throughout the negotiations has only been equalled by his optimism, has now been constrained to turn the tables and ask if the Episcopal Churches can "deliver the goods."

EDITOR.

Emergent Evolution. (Gifford Lectures, University of St. Andrews, 1922.) By C. LLOYD MORGAN, F.R.S. Williams & Norgate. 15s.

Many of us owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Lloyd Morgan for his magistral contributions to the science of comparative psychology and for his essays on evolution in general. Many of us have a warm heart to a great little book *The Interpretation of Nature*, which is as charming as it is wise. Now we have the first instalment of his Gifford Lectures, in which he explains his general outlook as biologist and psychologist, evolutionist and philosopher. It does not seem to us an easy book, indeed resolute thinking can never be that; but it is always clear and illuminating. As we read it we feel that a wise man has taken us into his confidence, and is speaking to us with perfect sincerity. In giving some account of Professor Lloyd Morgan's position, we hope it will be understood that we are not doing it justice. It is a book to be read and re-read.

By emergent evolution is meant the incoming of the genuinely new. Living creatures emerged, the inner psychical life emerged, man emerged, reflective thought emerged. But these are salient examples; the idea applies to the new molecule, the new compound, the new species—wherever

and whenever there is more than quantitative additions. The author illustrates the idea by quoting from Browning's *Abt Vogler* :

And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man
That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star.

"Browning, be it noted, does not deny the summation of constituent notes in the chord; he asserts that there is more in the chord than can be interpreted as the outcome of summation only." Here the doctrine of emergent evolution differs from a mechanistic theory which is in terms of resultant effects only. The mechanistic view is, of course, right in recognizing all the chemical and physical processes of the living body and their resultants, but it is inadequate in ignoring the something more—a new synthesis—that must be accepted as emergent.

Professor Lloyd Morgan advises us to think of a pyramid with a base of what may be called irreducibles, and at different levels there are the uncountable emergences throughout all the different forms of matter and life and mind. Near the top are our human selves. And just as a big crystal is built up of small crystals like itself, so the synoptic pyramid of Nature is a pyramid of pyramids. In the historical building up of this pyramid there has been no insertion of any alien influence belonging to some disparate order of being. The author's outlook is purely naturalistic. He bars out any Divine or other intervention. "If we acknowledge Divine Activity, of which for my constructive philosophy emergent evolution is the expression, it is to be conceived as *omnipresent and manifested in every one of the multitudinous entities within the pyramid*. God, if in any, is in all, without distinction of entities." The base of the world-pyramid is occupied, so to speak, by the foundational elements of the order of Nature, then there are matter-systems, then life-matter systems (like plants), and then mind-life-matter systems. But all systems are in their degree psycho-physical, and God is "the nius of the universe pressing onwards to levels as yet unattained."

But we hope it will not be thought that it is in any facile way that Professor Lloyd Morgan reaches his position of monistic theism. It is with painstaking precision that he shows us why, if we acknowledge a physical basis of so-called matter and energy as ultimately involved in all natural events, we may also acknowledge God, "as the directive Activity on whom the manner of going in all natural events ultimately depends." He nails his colours to the mast. "I acknowledge a physical world which, I admit, is beyond proof. I acknowledge also God Who is, I contend, beyond disproof."

What is it that emerges in molecule, crystal, organism, person, and so on? Some new entity in virtue of some new kind of relation or set of relations intrinsic to it. Each new thing also exhibits new ways of acting on, and reacting to, other entities. "As an expression of its new intrinsic relations the higher entity has new qualities; as expressing its new extrinsic relations it has new properties." It will be found useful to make these axioms concrete by applying them to such an event as Man, for he was a new synthesis and he made the world new. The Creative Source of evolution, the Efficiency which makes all emergence possible, is simply accepted by science with "natural piety," and left un-named. For those who take the risk of the higher acknowledgment, the Creative Source of evolution is God.

The central idea of these lectures gives us a more unified evolution picture than is often presented. "Reflective consciousness involves a lower plane of consciousness which is unreflective and perceptual; this

involves a basis of life on which it is founded; and this again involves a physico-chemical basis on which it, in turn, is founded." Each new emergence alters the "particular go" of things at the level of its advent. "The go of physico-chemical events at the level of life is not the same as that which obtains at the level of materiality only; the go of organic events at the level of effective consciousness is not the same as that which obtains at the level of vitality only. . . . So long as the words are used in a purely naturalistic sense, one may say that the higher kinds of relatedness guide or control the go of lower-level events." What a lot of cobwebs this clear thinking brushes away!

The evolutionist has a vision of an ascending scale of "richness in reality." In the stuff and substance of organisms there is something richer than in crystals and minerals. In human affairs there is greater richness still. Professor Lloyd Morgan is not afraid to suggest that at the top of the pyramid there is conduct where deity emerges. "When we reach the quality of deity we attain to the level of natural reality which is the fullest and richest of all that we know."

Emergent evolution works from matter to man; it urges that the "more" of any given stage, even the highest, involves the "less" of the stages which were precedent to it and continue to co-exist with it. "It does not interpret the higher in terms of the lower only, for that would imply denial of the emergence of those new modes of natural relatedness which characterize the higher and make it what it is. Nor does it interpret the lower in terms of the higher."

What gives unique value to these lectures is that the author stands by a full and frank acceptance of naturalistic formulation, and yet presses for a supplementing of this by a religious interpretation implying a belief in God—a God on whom all evolutionary process ultimately depends, a God whose activity within us we can intuitively enjoy. But we must begin to read the book over again.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones: latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. EUSEBIUS HIERONYMUS; edidit IOHANNES KNIGHT FOTHERINGHAM. Milford. 48s.

The value of chronological tables as a sort of backbone of history was appreciated in early times, and perhaps no surviving table of the Græco-Roman period is of equal merit with that compiled by Eusebius of Cæsarea. In fact his chronological tables are inferior in importance only to his priceless *Ecclesiastical History*. Yet we have to be content with translations of these, as the original is almost entirely lost. Of these translations that by St. Jerome exceeds the Armenian in importance, and the fact that he made additions to the Eusebian material, and supplemented it for the period A.D. 327 to 378, adds to, rather than detracts from, its original value. The real worth of the Eusebian material depends, of course, on the character of the sources from which it comes, and these have been investigated with much learning by various scholars, whose work is summed up in the standard article "Eusebios" by Schwartz (in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*).

The printed editions of the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle at the disposal of students down to a comparatively recent date were all very unsatisfactory. Alfred Schoene did much to improve our knowledge of the manuscript sources, but even he was unaware till the latter part of his life that the Bodleian Library had in 1824 come into possession of a fifth-century manuscript exceeding all the others in value. Of this manuscript a com-

plete collotype facsimile was issued by the Clarendon Press in 1905 under the editorship of Dr. J. K. Fotheringham. Some years afterwards Dr. Fotheringham was elected a Research Fellow of Magdalen College, on the understanding that he would prepare and publish a new critical edition of the Chronicle, based on a collation of the extensive manuscript material that has survived. This important work has been much delayed by the war and attendant causes, but happily it is now in our hands.

The inevitable delays to which Dr. Fotheringham's work was subjected enabled a distinguished professor of classical philology in Rostock University, Dr. Rudolf Helm, one of the best Latin scholars in Germany, to publish in 1913 an edition of the text with a partial apparatus, as a volume of the Prussian Academy's series of Greek Ante-Nicene Fathers, a series in which the promoters wisely include early translations in cases where the originals are lost. Dr. Helm's text was very welcome, but apart from the defective character of its apparatus, the fact that the introduction is still unpublished, and that the book is printed in special uncial type cast for the occasion, renders its use somewhat difficult and unsatisfactory.

Dr. Fotheringham is not only a classical scholar, but he is also known everywhere for his studies in chronology, particularly as illustrated by astronomical tables. In the preparation of his edition he has received most valuable help from his wife. In it special attention has been paid to Jerome's arrangement of his material, particularly to the use he made of red ink and larger script in special passages. Some of our authorities are so old that we can safely trust their evidence in this matter. To save expense, the red-inked parts of the manuscripts have been represented by thick type. The critical apparatus is clearly arranged, and is a treasure-house of valuable information to the student of Latin orthography. The work has very strong claims to be regarded as a definitive edition, and the few places where in our judgment the editor has chosen the wrong reading for his text do not lessen the value of the edition. The price is high, but it would doubtless have been much higher if the book had not been printed in Vienna. Dr. Fotheringham has produced a learned and satisfying work, and this handsome quarto, which it is not too much to call a work of art, will confer lasting reputation not only on its editor, but also on the ancient university to which he belongs. A. SOUTER.

Byways in Early Christian Literature. (Kerr Lectures, 1920-1.) By ADAM FYFE FINDLAY, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 10s.

A comprehensive survey of the apocryphal Gospels and Acts fills a gap in English literature on early Christianity. These curious writings have from time to time been scrutinized in the hope of adding to our fragmentary knowledge of the events of our Lord's life and of the apostolic age, but such hope is in the main delusive. Some fragments, doubtless of genuine information, filtered down through oral tradition and were embodied in writings never accepted by the Church. Ramsay showed some years ago how surprisingly the story of Thecla in the *Acts of Paul* reflected conditions of the first century which had disappeared by the second century, and could hardly have been imaginatively reconstructed by the Asian presbyter who wrote the Acts about 170. Recently so judicious and well-informed a book as Husband's *Prosecution of Jesus* has made use of material derived from the *Acts of Pilate* on the ground that it fills *lacunæ* in the canonical accounts in a manner entirely congruous with known Roman procedure at the period. Dr. Findlay recognizes the possibility of an occasional kernel of historic truth in the apocryphal narratives, but he is rightly sceptical of the value of any substantial amount

of the information they purport to give. He is not disposed to agree with some modern critics who have thought that some credence might be given to statements made in the early Jewish-Christian Gospel, which—according to his own conclusions—existed in antiquity in two distinct forms as Jerome's *Gospel of the Nazarenes* and the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* known to Alexandrian Fathers.

The real historical interest, however, which attaches to these apocryphal writings is of a different kind. They may have little or nothing to tell us of the period to which they purport to refer, but they tell us a great deal about the period in which they were written. The history of the Church in the second and third centuries is usually studied in the writings of the authoritative ecclesiastical teachers and historians. But no less important was the unofficial piety of popular Christianity, which is but slightly represented in those dignified works. On one side this popular Christianity is illuminated for us by early Christian inscriptions and paintings. From another angle it is illuminated by the apocryphal Gospels and Acts, whose lasting appeal to the popular mind enabled them to survive, subterraneously as it were, the suspicion or even the condemnation of the official Church. It is from this point of view that Dr. Findlay treats the documents, and he succeeds in setting before the reader a very vivid and interesting picture of the beliefs and piety of rank-and-file Christians in the period between the Apostles and the Council of Nicæa. The wide diversity of belief in this period is striking, and Dr. Findlay proves convincingly that very much of this diversity was quite at home in the Great Church. It is true that most of these writings bear the stigma of "heresy," and some of them were undoubtedly written in the interests of dogmatic teachings which at no date could have been accepted within the Church; but often enough the "heresy" is only such from the standpoint of the standardized Christianity of the great Councils. Elements which are labelled "docetic" or "gnostic" are shown to have been in many cases congruous with views held in the most reputable circles of second and third-century orthodoxy. "We should recognize the fact that in the middle decades of the second century there was no sharp line of demarcation between Gnostics and Catholic Christians, but that there was a broad borderland where many, without separating themselves from the Church, held opinions which brought them very near the position of the Gnostic schools." Accordingly the documents before us provide material for the study at the same time of the genuinely religious and even Christian values which teaching of a "gnostic" type tried to preserve, and of the peril to Christianity from the abandonment of its historic basis in the real human life of Jesus. Thus the author, after giving an account of the weird cosmic speculations on the Cross in the Leucian *Acts of John*, observes: "The truth which Leucius seems to have been reaching after was that the Cross was not temporal and transient, but a fact established in the constitution of things. . . . He was in fact affirming the truth thus stated by a modern student of mysticism, that 'the law of gravitation is not more deeply scored on the heart of nature than is the Cross of Christ.'" At the same time he sums up the case against the Gnostic Gospels in the following terms:

"The strength of our faith is like the fabled strength of Antæus: it must maintain contact with the solid ground of history from which it sprang. The conflict between the Church and Gnosticism was a vital one, for the latter in dissolving the Gospel history into shadow-pictures of invisible realities undermined the foundations on which the whole fabric of Christianity was raised. Read the Gospels in any other

way than as the record of an actual life, lived in human conditions, in which the Eternal God revealed Himself for man's salvation ; put in their place a system of abstractions, no matter how imposing, and the Christian faith in all that gives it a distinctive character as compared with other faiths will vanish from the world. For Christianity is Jesus Christ and the relationship with God into which men enter through Him who lived and died and is alive for evermore."

This truth will become more and more important as the great religious issue of our day reveals itself in the conflict between Christianity and the metaphysical religions of the East.

The same discriminating sympathy is shown in the treatment of the ethical teaching of the apocryphal writings. Practically without exception they teach an ascetic or "enkratite" morality. It is somewhat startling to find how completely the Christianity of this period had become, for the rank and file, a religion of pessimism and the negation of natural instincts. Marriage is universally in these writings a lowering of the Christian ideal, and in many of them virginity is actually obligatory upon the Christian in full communion. That nevertheless Christians of the second century continued to marry and to give in marriage is the sort of inconsistency at which we have no right to marvel.

"We may do well to remember that the same crass inconsistency might be alleged to-day between the conduct of those who profess and call themselves Christians and some of the ethical obligations which they would never dream of questioning. The obligation, felt to be remote and tacitly regarded as impracticable, lies quietly side by side with the practical disownment of it. I take it that that is how things stood when a comfortably married second-century Christian had the enkratite doctrine of the Acts of Paul preached to him. He allowed that it was a splendid ideal ; he honoured those who accepted it ; only it was not for him."

Hence, of course, arose in time the double standard in Catholic ethics. It is extraordinary to observe how completely the Church of the second and third centuries had turned Christianity into a new law of ascetic discipline, and how completely even the unfortunate presbyter of Asia who wrote, *amore Pauli*, the *Acts of Paul*, had forgotten the Pauline gospel of grace. In this he was no worse than the best reputed theologians of the period. Yet we must not be unjust to the burning ethical enthusiasm which underlies these depressing doctrines.

"If there is a pronounced pessimistic strain in the views which the writers entertain with reference to wordly joys and activities, there is nothing depressing in their general outlook, but rather a grave and subdued enthusiasm, as they turn their thoughts to Christ the Unconquerable. The writers had a profound sense of the presence of evil in the world and of dread powers from which they desired deliverance, but they had also a serene and invincible assurance, rooted in the great invisible realities, that every opposing might must yield to the power of Jesus Christ."

At least they knew how to say their prayers, and in some of the moving devotional utterances which Dr. Findlay quotes from various writings with telling effect we feel ourselves at the heart of Christian religious experience. And who would willingly let die that gem of Christian

literature, often attributed (though not with Dr. Findlay's approval) to the Syrian philosopher Bardaisan, the *Hymn of the Soul*?

C. H. DODD.

The Growth of the City State. By WILLIAM REGINALD HALLIDAY, B.A., B.Litt. Liverpool University Press (Hodder). 7s. 6d.

It is characteristic of the new way of teaching ancient history that in a course of eight (or virtually seven) lectures dealing with the development of the city state of the Greeks and Romans it is only with the fourth lecture that we are conducted from the council of the kings beside the ship of Nestor to the commonwealths of Hellas. We used to be told at school, on the authority of Grote, that Greek history began with the first Olympiad, and for all we heard to the contrary the Greek city might have been the sudden result of a "special creation" without essential relations in time or space with other phenomena. Professor Halliday shows us that in Greece and Italy alike the emergence of the form of society which is the foundation of all Western political institutions was an episode in a wide historical context which includes migrations of peoples from North Africa and from the central steppes of the Eurasian continent, *terramara* settlements, the Minoan civilization, and in general the whole movement of human life for millenniums throughout the Western world. The first three lectures are well spent in creating a broad impression of this movement, and leave us with the stage set and the actors ready for the main drama. When we come to the actual history of the city state it is equally broadly rendered on a large canvas. We move freely from Greece and Anatolia to Italy and Sicily. Athens and Rome are exhibited as simply outstanding examples of what was happening over a wide area in response to similar combinations of conditions. As we are led to study these conditions we come to see that they are of the same kind as those which work to-day—geographical, economic, psychological. There is in fact no such thing as "ancient history": there is just history—the interaction of the mind of man and his environment in a continuous chain through time. Professor Halliday brings vividly before our minds the essential identity of the factors that make history in all ages. "In 1911," he observes, "I noticed a modern parallel to this indifference on the part of the Ionian Islands to the policy of the mainland, the mutual character of whose interests with their own is obscured in the popular mind by geographical separation. In the Cyclades and eastern Greece, through which I had passed, sentiment was enthusiastically in favour of the war against Bulgaria. In Leucas and Corfu for the first time I found the people indifferent or critical, and their tone was, 'What does Macedonia matter to us western Greeks?'" There we have Greek history in a nutshell. Not essentially different from this is the effect of describing ancient events in terms of their nearest contemporary equivalent, as when the result of the secession of the plebs is summed up in the phrase "the strike was settled by the recognition of the union." The purist may demur, but—there you have the situation. The book is certainly rather impressionist than thorough, but it is well documented in the excellent notes that follow each chapter, and the reader who is at the pains of verifying all the references there given will have acquired a sufficient mass of solid knowledge to give substance to the sketch in the text. Professor Halliday has made history live, and that is after all the greatest service an historian can render to his public. The last lecture is a somewhat irrelevant but highly entertaining sketch of the career of one "Pheidippides," a young Athenian "blood" of the fifth century B.C. How little these young fellows change!

C. H. DODD.

Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul. I. Introduction. By ALEXANDER SOUTER, M.A., D.Litt. Cambridge University Press. 1922. 40s.

This book is No. 1 of Vol. X in the series "Texts and Studies," of which the general editor is Dean Armitage Robinson. It is the sequel to a number of articles on the Pauline Commentaries of Pelagius, previously published by Dr. Souter in various learned periodicals. The subject is a fascinating one, and is treated with an extraordinary wealth of learning. Since Erasmus published the works of Jerome in 1516 it has been recognized that a brief commentary on thirteen epistles of St. Paul, which the great scholar found assigned to that author in a MS. to his hand, was not really his. Later in the sixteenth century it was observed that the commentary was tainted with Pelagianism, and some scholars went on boldly to identify the work with the commentary of Pelagius himself utilized by Augustine. No one, however, properly faced the difficulty that some of Augustine's quotations are not to be found in the pseudo-Jerome.

With the publication of the works of Marius Mercator in 1671, and especially with Garnier's edition of them in 1673, not only did fresh evidence arise for the Pelagian authorship by means of correspondences with the quotations from Pelagius in Mercator, but also Garnier endeavoured to explain the lack of the missing Pelagian quotations from the pseudo-Jerome by means of a passage in the sixth-century author Cassiodorus, from which he argued that pseudo-Jerome was an edition of Pelagius expurgated by Cassiodorus and his pupils. Garnier's view held the field till it was finally upset in 1901 by Zimmer, who showed that pseudo-Jerome was not anti-Pelagian, started a new research for the genuine Pelagius, and actually found another competitor for the honour in the *Stiftsbibliothek* of St. Gall. Dr. Souter in the book before us, by comparison with the Pelagian passages in Augustine and Marius Mercator, shows that neither the pseudo-Jerome nor the St. Gall MS. can be the original commentary: they are rather Pelagius interpolated by a Pelagian. On the other hand, he has been able to identify the genuine Pelagius with the text of three MSS. discovered by himself in 1906 and 1913. One is at Karlsruhe, one at Balliol, and one at Merton College. There are also some fragments of the original in the Vatican and at Freiburg. From all this material Dr. Souter hopes presently to edit a revised text of the Pelagian commentary. The result will be eagerly anticipated by all interested in the history of theology.

R. S. FRANKS.

The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of his Age. By THOMAS WALKER, D.D. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

When in 1913 the Oxford Press published the great annotated translation of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T. edited by Dr. R. H. Charles, the way was opened for such a work as that of Dr. Walker. He has instituted a careful comparison of the Jewish doctrine of the time of Jesus with Christ's own teaching, under the great heads of the Idea of God, the Kingdom of God, the Character of the Messiah, the Doctrine of Man, the Way of Salvation, and the Hope of the Hereafter. It may be said at once that Dr. Walker has given us a very valuable study, obviously involving great labour and research into the sources. Besides, as his bibliography and quotations show, he has assimilated an immense number of secondary authorities on the subject. It is a special feature of the book that Jewish as well as Christian scholarship is abundantly laid under contribution. Future students will find Dr. Walker's work a veritable thesaurus of the subject.

Two points in it, however, seem to invite criticism. The first is the attempt to give the feeling of the original text of the Gospels by translating with a slavish adherence to the order and form of the words: e.g. "Did you not know that in my Father's house I must be" (p. 149); "Lord's spirit is on me" (p. 168). I cannot think that these extraordinary translations really help the book. The second matter of criticism is of less importance in view of Dr. Walker's very wide reading. It seems strange—while he obviously does read German, since he not only includes in his bibliography but also actually quotes Bousset's untranslated *Religion des Judenthums*—that, though there are frequent references to the English translations of Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology* and Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, which both represent only the German scholarship of the last generation, none of the modern German authorities on the subject are utilized, neither the New Testament Theologies of Holzmann, Feine, Schlatter and Weinell, nor the two great New Testament commentaries of the modern school, the *Handbuch zum neuen Testament* and the *Schriften des neuen Testaments für die Gegenwart erklärt*, books which in many places would have been safer guides than either Beyschlag or Wendt.

R. S. FRANKS.

Psychology and Morals. By J. A. HADFIELD. Methuen. 6s.

This book contains the Dale Lectures delivered by Dr. Hadfield at Mansfield College. It is written from the medical standpoint, and seeks to apply the methods of the New Psychology to the practical problems of ethics. The writer has had a wide experience in the practice of psychotherapy, and he brings to bear on his subject not only an expert's knowledge, but a broadly human interest and a saving sense of humour. His theme is the almost limitless power of the mind over the body, and the help which can be derived from modern psychological methods in ministering to minds diseased.

The first part of the book deals with the various factors which go to the making of character, with sentiments, dispositions, and complexes, and their influence on conduct. Then follows an important discussion on moral disease and sin, on the place of the will and of ideals in forming character, and on self-realization and happiness. This leads up to a discussion of therapeutic methods, psycho-analysis, sublimation, etc.

The crucial element in Dr. Hadfield's teaching is to be found in his treatment of sin and moral disease. He draws a clear distinction between them. Sin is due to wrong sentiments, and arises from a conscious and deliberate choice under the impulse of a wrong ideal. Moral disease is due to "morbid complexes giving rise to uncontrollable impulses." It must be treated by psychotherapy, while sin can only be overcome by the persistent presentation of a higher ideal (cf. p. 48). It is in his doctrine of ideals that Dr. Hadfield finds the point of transition between the instinctive and the moral life. The ideal is that the attainment of which produces self-realization and happiness, and which therefore becomes a powerful incentive to action. The call that it makes upon the self is duty, and it helps us to understand how self-control and self-forgetting may contribute to a true self-realization.

Dr. Hadfield's discussion of the various factors which go to the making of character, and of the wilderness of morbid states and conditions which hinders the growth of the good seed is very illuminating. His medical experience here stands him in good stead, and his skilful diagnosis provides many a mirror in which we can see ourselves. But he is not content to stop short with diagnosis. The latter part of the book in

which he deals with the various methods of psychotherapy is intensely interesting and full of wise suggestions. His treatment of sublimation, which he defines as "the process by which instructive emotions are diverted from their original ends and redirected to purposes satisfying to the individual and of value to the community," is particularly helpful. We would strongly recommend this book to ministers and teachers and to all others who have the opportunity of personal dealing with their fellows.

W. B. SELBIE.

Modern Psychology and the Achievement of Christian Personality. By J. G. MCKENZIE, M.A., B.D. Sunday School Union. 2s. 6d. net.

The title of this book exactly describes it. Mr. McKenzie's aim is to use the wealth of material put into our hands by modern psychology for the elucidation of the processes by which Christian personality is attained. He writes ostensibly for Sunday School teachers, and it is all to the good that they should be instructed in the important matters with which he deals; but his book has a far wider reference, and appeals to all who are interested in education and the forming of character. He has a competent knowledge of psychology, especially in its newer aspects, and is able to use it freely and apply it intelligently. His style is admirably clear and untechnical, and his meaning is never in doubt. He recognizes that in a textbook of this kind the treatment of the subject must be necessarily summary and inadequate, but, in spite of the limitations imposed, he has succeeded in giving a very informing and interesting survey of the great problem of the development of personality, and in showing the contribution which psychology can make to its better understanding.

W. B. SELBIE.

Christian Autosuggestion. By R. E. ROBERTS, C.F. S.P.C.K. 2s.

Under the headings God, Man, Faith, Prayer, and Joy, the writer of this book shows how men may help themselves by autosuggestion to a saner theology and a more balanced life. He writes with a simplicity and an assurance that disarm criticism. There is no doubt, however, that multitudes of worried folk to-day need just this cheerful Gospel of self-mastery, and they will find in Mr. Roberts a wise and kindly guide.

W. B. SELBIE.

The Unconscious. By J. LEVINE, M.D. Leonard Parsons. 7s. 6d.

It may be taken for granted that the idea of the subconscious mind has come to stay. It is an hypothesis which explains so much in human mental traits and behaviour, both normal and abnormal, that it may fairly be regarded as in process of verification. We have still a long way to go, however, before this process can be considered complete. Dr. Levine is a whole-hearted advocate of the theory of the unconscious, particularly in the general form in which it is set forth by Sigmund Freud and as it is exemplified in the psycho-analytic method. His book deals first with the history of the idea, and is useful as showing that it is not altogether the new thing that some modern exponents of it seem to think. He then expounds the Freudian form of the theory at some length, and goes on to justify it by examples drawn from the study of human behaviour, and backs up his contention by innumerable quotations chiefly from Freud and Jung. Two criticisms suggest themselves. In the first place, like many psychologists, he has no very clear idea of the limitations of his subject. He constantly deserts the ground of psychology for that of philosophy, without apparently being aware that he is doing so, and thus

tends to build upon his foundations more than they will really bear. Secondly, he pays very little attention to some important modern theories of the unconscious. There is only one brief reference to the work of Dr. Rivers (p. 28) and Professor McDougall's treatment of the whole question is very inadequately dealt with. At the same time the book is a very useful introduction to one aspect of the subject for English readers. It is clearly and interestingly written, and forms a useful contribution to a much discussed form of a big problem.

W. B. SELBIE.

The Dominant Sex. By MATHILDE and MATHIAS VAERTING. Translated by E. and C. Paul. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

In modern Society the male sex is the dominant sex. Some of the results of this dominance are recognized and seen to be evil, but there are a great many others equally bad which are taken for granted, and acquiesced in because they follow naturally from the accepted relations of the sexes. The writers of this book set themselves to investigate the whole question of the comparative psychology of the sexes. They show very cleverly, and illustrate by innumerable examples, the difference which the dominance of one sex or the other makes in social conditions and relations. Though the subject has its unpleasant side, it is a very fascinating one, and treated as it is here, in a thoroughly scientific spirit, has a real contribution to make to practical sociology. The reader as he proceeds will find himself quite unable to resist the cumulative weight of the evidence which goes to show that any disturbance of the due balance between the sexes is a most fruitful cause of social evils of all kinds. The ideal which the authors set before themselves is that of a sex equality, not of a rigid and mechanical kind, but such as will avoid the dominance of one sex over the other, and allow both the opportunity for the fullest development of their special powers and characteristics. We may be a long way from such an ideal as yet, but there is no doubt that the future happiness of the race is bound up with its realization.

W. B. SELBIE.

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

Hymns from the Rigveda. By A. A. MACDONELL, Ph.D., LL.D. Association Press (Y.M.C.A.), Calcutta. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.

The Message of Mohammed. By A. S. N. WADIA, M.A. J. M. Dent. 3s. 6d.

Of non-Christian religions Buddhism is to-day the only conceivable alternative to Christianity, and its influence in the West has been very great. It is probable that much of its attraction has been due to misunderstanding. The world owes a great debt to the scholars who in the latter half of last century took in hand the transcription and translation of the more important Pāli texts. They were often sustained in their arduous and self-denying task by an enthusiastic admiration for early Buddhism as a rational religion, which taught the highest ethics, and yet was unencumbered by a belief in God, and the Gotama they presented seemed somehow to belong less to the India of his time than to the Europe of the nineteenth century. Any who have read the writings of Professor de la Vallée Poussin are aware how ill-founded is this view. The authoritative book before us on *Buddhist Philosophy*, by the Regius Professor of Sanskrit in Edinburgh, should make this view now impossible. The

rationalist view of Gotama is due to a "determination to modernize, to show that early in Buddhist thought we find fully appreciated ideas which have only slowly and laboriously been elaborated in Europe, and are normally regarded as the particular achievement of modern philosophy." Instead of a rationalist teacher the Pāli texts speak of one "who felt himself to be, and was regarded by his followers, as something far superior to humanity, a great divinity in the eyes of his followers, a deity even to those who were not of the chosen circle." "It is strange," as Professor Keith says, "that Western criticism, ruthless in probing the claims of its own sacred scriptures, has treated the Pāli Canon with a respect so profound as to regard with open hostility any attempt to apply to these sources of information the same dispassionate scrutiny which is demanded from the researcher into the history of Christianity." Much of what is usually ascribed to Gotama is really the product of later Buddhist sects. Yet there are certain features of Buddhism which "impress upon us the view that they represent the views of the great sage himself." "He believed in the reality of what the vulgar called metempsychosis, but which he transformed to suit another belief, the non-existence of a substantial permanent soul such as that accepted by the teachers of the *Upanishads*. He held, as did the thinkers of the *Upanishads*, a faith in the mysterious power of the act, which automatically determined man's life from moment to moment, without divine intervention. He believed, much more decidedly than did the thinkers of the *Upanishads*, that life, in whatever form, was a striving which inevitably involved pain, but release from it he found, not in the realization of the unity of the self and the absolute, the doctrine of the *Upanishads*, but in the appreciation of the truth of pain, its causation, its cessation, and the means of attaining freedom from it. The path to this freedom lay neither in asceticism nor in worldly striving, but in a middle way, involving self-culture, the restraint of the passions, and the practice of intense meditation. On the positive content, if any, of the state attained by these means the master must have been silent, whatever his personal view." "He was, we may be assured, dogmatic in his utterances; his insight enabled him, with the aid of his power to recollect the past, to explain the structure of reality to his disciples in such measure as was profitable for their salvation. Doubtless it was this consciousness of insight and memory which impressed on the Buddha himself and on his disciples the conception that he was far above humanity." "The popular appeal of his teaching lay doubtless largely in this fact; the disciples were not compelled to change their mentality, but only to accept a new object of reverence, and to follow in some measure the dictates of a new creed, on the whole sane and free from the excess of asceticism, which has always had attractions for Indian opinion. Hence we may explain the permanence of the fraternity which he founded in comparison with the evanescence of most of the other groups, formed by teachers who, to judge from the Buddhist texts, made no claim whatever to more than normal humanity." The Buddha's teaching was not original. It owed its success to the power of his personality.

We have dealt at some length with Professor Keith's description of the Buddha, for that to many will be the most interesting part of the book. Professor Keith proceeds to a detailed and somewhat technical description of the schools of the Hīnayāna, and passes from this to an account of the doctrines of the Mahāyāna, the so-called Northern Buddhism, important as the form of Buddhism prevalent in China and Japan. Between the simple rationalism of a modernized Buddha and the grandiose teaching of the Mahāyāna there is no discernible connexion. It is the great merit of Professor Keith's book that it shows the continuity and connexion of the teaching of the actual Gotama with the later developments of Buddhist

thought. Much in the long history still remains obscure, but Professor Keith's book does much to light up the dark places. Easy reading it often is not. No book could be which dealt with material so difficult and unfamiliar. But it is as lucid as it is learned, and is certain to become the authoritative textbook for the study of Buddhist Philosophy. We commend it warmly to all serious students of religion.

Hymns from the Rigveda is the latest addition to the "Heritage of India" series, to which we referred last quarter. We congratulate Dr. Farquhar, its editor, on securing this contribution from the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. The days have long since gone when scholars could speak of the *Rigveda* as Max Müller did, as "the naïve songs of simple herdsmen extolling the mighty works of nature around them." Its hymns, as Professor Macdonell points out, "were produced by a sacerdotal class, and were generally intended to accompany a ritual no longer primitive." The *Rigveda* is about as long as the extant works of Homer, and makes as a whole somewhat tedious reading. Yet genuine poetry is not lacking, and the collection merits study as one of the earliest literary records of religion and as the venerated source of later Hinduism. Professor Macdonell gives us not only very attractive translations in the original metres of forty of the 1,017 hymns, but brief descriptions of the gods to whom these prayers are addressed. It is hard to imagine a better introduction to the study of the *Rigveda* than this little book affords. It should be of the greatest service not only to the Indians for whom this series is primarily intended, but to all who desire some knowledge of this ancient work.

The Message of Mohammed has special interest as a work on Islām written by a Pārsī. Its author was at one time a Professor in the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and is spending his retirement in writing a series of books on the great religions of the world. Two volumes have already been published, *The Message of Zoroaster* and *The Message of Christ*. In this volume he seeks to deal with Muhammad truthfully, and yet in such a way as to cause no offence. His book is dedicated to the Muslims of India, and as an eirenicon it is admirable, but the task he has set himself is almost an impossible one. Muslims are in no mood to tolerate any criticism of Muhammad or his teaching, and sympathetic as is Mr. Wadia's presentation, even his mild criticisms will, we fear, be resented. Educated Indian Muslims prefer Syed Ameer Ali's modernization, or the kind of eulogy of the Prophet now provided by the *Islamic Review* and those associated with the Woking Mosque, whilst more orthodox Muslims see no reason to explain away much that is repellent to modern men. Yet the Muhammad Mr. Wadia depicts is far more admirable than the sources reveal, and many of the criticisms of Muhammad's character which he assigns to Christian prejudice are really due, not to prejudice, but to inexorable facts.

Mr. Wadia has an English style which many English writers might well envy, and the lucidity and charm with which he writes makes this book a delight to read.

SYDNEY CAVE.

The Speaker's Bible. St. Luke, Vol. I (Chs. i-viii, 18). Edited by DR. JAMES HASTINGS. Aberdeen: Speaker's Bible Office. 12s. 6d.

This is the second volume—the first dealt with the Epistle to the Hebrews—of a series on which the late Dr. Hastings was engaged at the time of his death. It is an enlargement of his earlier series on "The Great Texts of the Bible," inasmuch as it deals with great and small. Dr. Moffatt, in the preface to one of his monumental works on N.T. Studies, declares that anyone attacking such a task needs two qualifications: (1) that he shall

have read everything previously written on the subject ; (2) that he shall have worked at the problems himself. If these two canons hold for the ordinary sermon-maker, we are bound to say that Dr. Hastings has gone far to make the first of them a manageable proposition. Indeed, so far has he gone that many may be tempted to neglect the second of Dr. Moffatt's commandments, and herein is great peril. Dr. Hastings' aim in this series is "to preserve all that is worth preserving of the modern interpretation of the Bible," and his method is a most skilful digest of many expositions. Here and there we have an apparently unedited contribution, as in the case of the Rev. J. H. Morrison's articles on "Christmas," and "Hearing," and the Rev. A. J. Gossip's sympathetic treatment of "The Silent Years." I do not think there is anything like this volume in existence for range and thoroughness, and for its up-to-dateness the illustration referring to the new Prime Minister's request for prayers rather than congratulations is good proof. The illustrations are among the most helpful part of the book, but even they will have their best use if they show the preacher the need of seeking diligently till he find his own. The value of the book (480 quarto pages) is enhanced by an introduction to the Gospel which is scholarly without being technical or pedantic, and by a 32-page index of modern sermons on this section of the Gospel. It is worth knowing that "The Speaker's Bible" is also published in monthly numbers, and that exceptionally cheap arrangements may be made with the publishers for binding these monthly issues.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON, M.A., D.D. Duckworth. 5s.

Egypt and the Old Testament. By T. ERIC PEET. Hodder. 5s.

The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism. By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B. Robert Scott. 5s.

The Exodus in the Light of Archæology. By J. S. GRIFFITHS. Robert Scott. 2s. 6d.

Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. By A. COWLEY, D. Litt. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 21s.

Professor Robinson's new book is distinguished by the freshness, vigour, and clarity which we are accustomed to expect in work from his pen. He writes with a thorough and profound knowledge both of his original authorities and of the findings of modern scholarship, a knowledge ripened during years of painstaking and laborious research. As a result we are presented with the balanced conclusions of a mind which has repeatedly weighed and considered every point here brought under our notice. There are few, if any, excerpts from other modern authorities, but this is because all the matter from beginning to end has been so well digested and assimilated before presentation that it comes to us as the author's own in every sense. It may be that not all will give unqualified assent to every conclusion reached by Dr. Robinson, but every discerning reader will be impressed by the sound, deep, and extensive learning underlying every page, and by the caution and courage, the modest yet unfaltering confidence, with which the work is carried through.

Beginning with an excellent sketch of primitive Semitic religion, the author goes on to postulate a clear distinction between the simple faith of the desert wanderings and the more complicated and less ethical cult of settled agricultural life in Canaan after its occupation. The present

reviewer is not perfectly convinced of the absolute validity of the line so unhesitatingly drawn, but the picture presented certainly keeps close to the available data.

To many the most debatable point in the ensuing chapters will doubtless be the stress laid on the ecstatic element in prophecy. On the whole, however, the case for this view is stated with great moderation, and will certainly arouse wide interest even where it does not win complete assent. It is not easy otherwise to explain in any satisfactory manner the phenomena adduced by Dr. Robinson, whereas his presentation hangs together historically and opens many avenues for further speculation.

The author's whole view of the way in which oracles were recorded is admirably set forth, and, beside investing with fresh interest the writings with which he deals, it justifies his somewhat bold literary criticism. While many of the critical judgments thus presented are necessarily commonplaces to all instructed students, there are others less certain which will interest even if they do not all convince.

The experience gained by the writer as a missionary professor in India enables him to speak with authority in dealing with primitive religious ideas, and to illustrate several points from contemporary practices in non-Christian countries. The prophets are replaced in their real historical framework with great vividness, and the local colour is plentiful without being fanciful. Full references are given in footnotes and a capital bibliography is contributed by Professor Peake. In short, this is a book which will be of great value both to students and to working ministers. It should produce a crop of sound and interesting sermons on the great religious personalities of old Israel.

Many will welcome Professor Peet's inexpensive yet comprehensive study of Egyptian relations with Israel. His aim has been to give us a sane, cautious, and critical survey of the extent to which our present knowledge of ancient Egyptian history supplements and confirms (or otherwise) the picture of Israel's development derived from other sources. He speaks as a first-hand authority in his own field, but deals of necessity with some parts of his subject without quite as full and profound an acquaintance with the original documents. This was, of course, inevitable.

For example, it is impossible to write such a book without dealing with both the Tell-el-Amarna tablets and the Elephantiné papyri. The former are written in Babylonian, the latter in Aramaic, both of which languages are outside the usual range of the Egyptologist as such. The reader feels, whether mistakenly or not, that in these two chapters, especially the latter, the author speaks with somewhat less force and originality than when he is dealing with purely Egyptian sources. Thus Professor Peet cites the names of only two other divinities beside Ya'u as worshipped by the Jews of the Elephantiné *degel*. Surely Herem and Bethel should have been included also, making five altogether instead of three. Again, he calls the Bigvai (בגווי) of Papyrus Sachau, pl. 1, 2, by the Greek form of his name, *Βαγώας*, apparently failing to identify him with the בני of Neh. 77, and he misses the importance of the date of this papyrus (408 B.C.) for fixing the date of Nehemiah, who must have preceded this official. Nor is his account of the destruction of the Elephantiné temple so critically shrewd and penetrating as are his various analyses of purely Egyptian evidence.

Such considerations, however, do not greatly affect the general and real value of this book. It should serve as a valuable corrective to the hasty and ill-judged attempts of literalist chronologists to identify the unidentifiable. The calm and judicial scholarship which characterizes the whole

volume, but more especially the more original parts, is equally sound and refreshing, and the author's remarks are in many cases as witty as they are well based.

Egyptian chronology is as yet far from certain. It cannot compete with Assyrian dating in respect of unquestionable accuracy. The discrepancy between the "long" and "short" datings is a glaring case in point, but the uncertainty constantly recurring for individual reigns within two *termini*, *a quo* and *ad quem*, is a constant check to confidence in establishing synchronisms. The discussion of the date of the Exodus is, as are also the remarks on Hebrew chronology in general, bold and vigorous, and though the total results of Egyptian exploration in this connexion as here presented may pan out to some eyes as disappointingly small, yet the careful scholarship and meticulous honesty of the writer beget a confidence in his conclusions not aroused by those authors who would fain persuade us and themselves of the existence of impossibly complete correspondences.

The reviewer can confidently recommend this little volume, to the perusal of which he is himself much indebted.

Mr. Harold Wiener tells us on page 13 of his *The Prophets of Israel* that "it must be remembered that the higher criticism of the Pentateuch has broken down." A footnote refers us to page 149 as authority for this somewhat challenging statement, and there we find that Kuenen's book, *Prophets and Prophecy*, "rests on foundations . . . already . . . demolished." Another footnote gives as authorities for this utterance a set of publications, most of which, the title-page informs us, are by Mr. Wiener himself.

Now, a student has every right to believe and hold as a *personal opinion* the conviction that he has demolished a hypothesis hitherto generally accepted. But he has surely no right to claim that such a demolition is an *objective fact* until it has been accepted as such by the general consensus of expert opinion. And this is far from being the case with regard to Mr. Wiener's theories, in spite of the somewhat ambiguous blessing pronounced upon them by Professor A. C. Welch in the *Expositor* for May of this year.

The matter is not unimportant for this review, since Mr. Wiener's hypothesis regarding the work of the prophets is based on the supposed fact that current pentateuchal theories have gone by the board. In this book he contends, against Kuenen in particular and modern scholarship in general, that one of the functions of the Biblical prophets, indeed their chief function, was prediction of the future, and that such predictions were always fulfilled in detail. To one who holds the unity and early authorship of the Pentateuch, such a view of prophecy is obviously an inevitable corollary, since the current view that the prophets spoke to their own contemporaries forms one of the principal supports of the theory that the Law was not fully known or practised until Ezra's time, which again involves the ordinary hypothesis of a composite Pentateuch and a growing revelation.

The difference between Mr. Wiener and modern scholars in general is not really a question (as he thinks) of interpretation of data. It rests upon a difference in mental outlook which is probably unbridgable. He is a literalist—modern scholarship has the historical spirit; he regards the men of old as automata—it thinks of them as living and developing personalities.

To accuse the late Professor Kuenen of showing *malignance* towards the prophets seems comically perverse. Yet Mr. Wiener does this in all

seriousness. Seriousness is indeed the keynote of his book, and it wins our respect. He is an earnest, industrious, and thorough worker, and even those who are not convinced by his arguments must admit that he has given us an extremely careful and comprehensive study, based not only upon original material, both canonical and extra-canonical, but on careful reading of the modern writers from whom he dissents (though such reading was perhaps confined to English works and translations).

The author of *The Exodus in the Light of Archæology* is guilty of just the mistakes against which Professor Peet protests. He belongs, like Mr. Wiener, to the Old Guard of conservatism, and his book is published in the same series. To him Rameses II is the Pharaoh of the Oppression and Mineptah that of the Exodus. In fact, his whole method is excellently described and gently but decisively exposed in Professor Peet's book. He has a hypothesis to maintain, and if the facts do not fit it, then, like George Stephenson's cow, so much the worse for them. We can only admire from a distance his enthusiasm and his industry. Readers of the book will find a good deal of the available Egyptological data displayed therein and arranged to suit certain views.

It is no exaggeration to say that every serious student of Semitic languages or of the Old Testament will hail with delight and with gratitude the appearance of Dr. Cowley's volume. Bodley's learned and genial Librarian is entitled to our deferential congratulations in all respects. Both in design and execution we can have little but praise for such an addition to our shelves, an addition which will prove to be indispensable for most of us.

Here for the first time we have made available to us, within the compass of a single English volume, the eighty-three known pre-Christian Aramaic papyri arranged in chronological order, with the addition of the Story of Aḥīḳar and the fragment of the Aramaic translation of the Behistun inscription. The text of each document is beautifully reproduced in small square Hebrew, unpointed. Each text is preceded where necessary by a pithy introduction, telling us exactly what we need to know in order to give to it its correct historical significance. An admirable English translation follows each—making the book well worth having, even to non-Aramaic reading students—and this is followed in turn by valuable linguistic notes, dealing with the main difficulties and points of interest. The translation and notes render the vowelling a fairly simple matter. In the case of the Behistun inscription the editor has added a transcription of the parallel passages of the Babylonian text. The whole is preceded by an excellent general introduction, which errs, if at all, on the side of brevity, and leaves us in the position of Oliver Twist. Dr. Cowley will not perhaps expect us all to swallow wholesale his suggestions regarding the origin of the Pentateuch, but that they are stimulating there can be no doubt. An admirable index serves also as a vocabulary, and there is a comprehensive bibliography. In short, we now only await the publication of Professor Stevenson's promised Aramaic grammar to feel ourselves really equipped, as English students, for the study of this great language, whose importance for O.T. students (and perhaps even more for those of the N.T.) becomes daily more apparent.

For English readers this volume will take its place with Canon G. A. Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions* as an invaluable source-book. Our Hebrew O.T.'s should be flanked by these, one on either side. Even so, the present work is the more necessary of the two. The complete set of papyri texts and translations within its covers were only obtainable hitherto

in several distinct collections; many had only been edited in German. Yet a knowledge of the most important amongst these texts has long been indispensable for students of the Persian period, and of the Diaspora, quite apart from their linguistic value for the comprehension of Biblical and later Aramaic. No. 30, in particular, establishes once for all the historicity of the documents embedded in the books of Ezra–Nehemiah. As to the genuineness of the papyri themselves we think there can no longer be any doubt, in spite of the weighty adverse opinion of Professor Margoliouth.

Only those who have been associated with the production of works including Oriental documents can fully appreciate the patience and loving care which are necessary before an impression of such high finish and exquisite accuracy as that before us can be placed on the market. The very moderate price of one guinea will not be grudged—even if it be not easy to spare—in the case of this combined product of ripe scholarship and splendid craftsmanship.

When we recall the very slender amount of Biblical Aramaic which has come down to us, and compare this with the wide extension and employment of the great *lingua franca* of Western Asia as against the small area in which the provincial dialect of Hebrew—it was little more—was spoken, we can estimate better the extent of the service rendered by Dr. Cowley in making such a mass of extra material available for us. It may be regretted that it was not feasible to print a pointed text. On the one hand, however, this would have involved possible variants in every second or third line, and on the other, it would have added very materially to the cost of production.

It is noticeable that no corrigenda have been added, nor have we detected, after a detailed and repeated inspection of the texts, any uncorrected misprints, facts which are in themselves a tribute both to the author and to the producers.

We anticipate an immediate and continuous sale for this volume, which seems destined to fulfil its author's hopes and to become the basis for all further study of these papyri on the part of English students.

J. P. NAISH.

The Practical Basis of Christian Belief. By PERCY GARDNER, D.Litt. Williams and Norgate. 12s. 6d.

"The coming on of old age warns me that it is time for me to set down in final form the conception of Christian belief to which I have been led by the studies and experiences of many years." Thus Dr. Gardner introduces his latest—though, we may still hope, not his last—exposition of the modernism which he has so long advocated with his own quiet persuasiveness. In any case, this volume is a worthy consummation of a series that, beginning with *Exploratio Evangelica* in 1899, has laid under debt all students who know how to appreciate the mating of honest independent thought with sagacious judgment. With Dr. Gardner it is not of so much importance to contest this or that conclusion—that can be done by individual students in their own way and according to their own predilections. The far more weighty point is that in him we have a writer who, in touch and temper and outlook, shows modernism at its best. There is nothing wild or impatient about him; even while he seems to be undermining the central citadel of your faith, he does it with a certain confident serenity that goes far to reassure the most timid. This is what helps to make this book, in the best and strongest sense, an eirenicon. It does what true apologetic ought always to do—separates spiritual truth

and experience from the dust and débris of ephemeral controversy, and shows how people, widely separated by technical theology and speculative beliefs, can feel themselves at one in all that really matters. In the present volume this is notably the case in the section dealing with the Eternal Christ, throughout which Dr. Gardner reveals a sure instinct for essential issues and the needs of modern restatement. Here is the pivot on which it turns: "Many earnest Christians have a strong dislike of Unitarian teaching; and their instinct is right, though it usually hides much confusion of thought. . . . The difference between the really Unitarian religions—Judaism and Islam—and Christianity lies in this, that the latter, in addition to the doctrine of the divine unity, preaches also the doctrine of the Incarnation. This is precisely the doctrine which I have ventured to try in these pages to place on a reasonable and defensible basis."

As might be expected, Dr. Gardner is at his best when discussing aspects of belief specially affected by recent changes in our views of early Christian history; nor need it be said that he takes full cognisance of the progress of religious psychology. On the practical side, Dr. Gardner is a standing example that modernism is by no means to be identified with the spirit that regards God as "a weak and indulgent parent," and that takes refuge in the easy-going assurance that all must come right in the end. "The ordinary Christian teaching about God needs infinite stiffening. . . . It is certain that multitudes, and those of the best of our race, have found the approach to God not easy but hard, the way that leads to life narrow and stony."

It ought not to go unmentioned that, written by "a layman and a free-lance," this book is clear and understandable enough to be appreciated by thoughtful readers outside the professedly student-circle.

ARTHUR PRINGLE.

Christianity and Culture. By J. G. BOWRAN. Holborn Publishing House. 1923. 5s.

If Mr. Bowran has any enemies, he gives them tempting occasion to blaspheme when he recalls what Hazlitt says about the merely "learned man"—how he "stuffs his head with authorities built on authorities, with quotations quoted from quotations, while he locks up his senses, his understanding and his heart. . . ." For the plain fact is that Mr. Bowran's Hartley Lecture is literally stuffed with quotations, eclectic, relevant, often suggestive, but so numerous and unescapable as to make one feel that one is reading a compilation that Mr. Bowran has edited rather than a book that he has written. If he has not exactly "locked up" his own individuality, he has given it far too little play. His theme is the debt that art, music, poetry, fiction and, indeed, "culture" in its widest sense, owe to Christianity; and those who would fortify themselves on this interesting subject will find that, along the lines I have indicated, the volume has a value of its own as providing an impressive array of testimony and illustration.

ARTHUR PRINGLE.

The Effective Evangelist. By LIONEL B. FLETCHER. Hodder. 5s.

The Great Harvester. By A. DOUGLAS BROWN. W. S. Martin. 2s. 6d.

These books are sent forth by two men who have done much in recent years to rehabilitate the whole evangelistic movement, which, to be frank, had fallen rather badly in the esteem of the Churches.

The writers are first of all pastors, and therefore their conception of evangelism springs from an intimate religious fellowship with men and women which can rarely be possessed by men who live entirely in the strange atmosphere of special missions. Mr. Brown retains his pastorate, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Fletcher will return to his when his term of special service is finished. Men like these, sincere, devoted and disinterested, with a central experience in the heart of a living Church, will be far mightier forces of revival than Churchless wanderers amongst the Churches.

Mr. Fletcher's book is a wise and sensible guide for earnest ministers and Church leaders who are not satisfied with the spiritual zeal of their Churches. If a Church desires to hold a mission, a careful study of these pages will be an excellent preparation. Mr. Fletcher will be a good adviser, with regard both to the things that ought to be done and to those that ought not.

But not less is the book to be commended to those ministers who do not propose to hold such services, but rather seek to increase the fervour and definiteness of the normal appeal through the ordinary operations of the Church. The older school of evangelists developed quite an elaborate technique of conversion, in which "coming forward" to some front position in the meeting seemed to be essential to a complete work of grace. Even Mr. Fletcher has hardly emancipated himself from this conception of things. But ministers who hold that quite adequate outward expression to an inward experience is given by a quiet coming to study or vestry, and by the giving of the right hand of fellowship at Church Meeting or Communion, will find strong and helpful guidance in Mr. Fletcher. Churches that have lost the power of appeal may learn from him how to make a fresh start without revolution or sensationalism. Mr. Fletcher's final demand that "the whole line advance" ought to find a definite response in all Churches that have any real contact with the moral situation of our times.

Mr. Brown takes, in a sense, a more difficult path. He prints some of the messages that have been channels through which his hearers have received the inspiration of his ministry. Preachers will turn to these sermons with interest to ascertain the material of his evangelistic appeal. In reading the "cold print" they will need to keep in mind the gracious personality of the speaker if they are to understand the results that have followed the preaching.

The theory of Mr. Fletcher, and the practice of Mr. Brown, in these two books are complementary testimonies to the undwindling efficacy of the "word of the Cross."

GEO. SHILLITO.

SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST

In *From Augustus to Augustine* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 12s. 6d.) we have a series of essays by Dr. E. G. Sihler "dealing with the contact and conflict of classic Paganism and Christianity." There is the perfume of a past generation about the book; it is evidently the result of wide and careful reading, but it seems to take very little account of recent work. References to books written during the last fifteen years are very rare; Plotinus is discussed without mention of Inge, and the "conflict of religions" without reference to Glover. Sound aphorisms are mingled with fine dogmatism, as, for example:

"The first precept of historical research is this, that we must abstain from injecting our own consciousness, or any subjective

analysis, into the study of the past. It is unscientific, naïve, and mischievous withal."

"Sir William Ramsay even thinks Seneca knew something of the Gospel. I do not think so. Let us proceed."

"I do not think so." That settles it. This is the "grand old style," and most refreshing it is.

We receive with pleasure a revised edition of Dr. H. N. Fowler's *History of Ancient Greek Literature* (New York: Macmillan Co., \$3.00), a work which has been found of great use in schools and colleges as well as by private students, and it is now considerably increased in value by bibliographical and chronological appendices. Dr. Fowler is equally at home with the poets, philosophers, orators, and historians of his period, and he has a welcome gift of summing up in a few pages the life, character, and writings of the great names with which he deals.

Mr. R. W. Livingstone's *The Pageant of Greece* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 7s. 6d.) might have been compiled for use with Dr. Fowler's book its editor having chosen passages from Greek writers to indicate the historical background and enable the reader to trace the growth and development of Greek literature. In these days, when it is to be feared that fewer persons than ever read Greek, it is good to have these scholarly translations arranged with unerring skill by a keen enthusiast.

Dr. W. E. Oesterley's *The Sacred Dance* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 8s. 6d.) may be described as a footnote to Sir J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and his *Folklore in the Old Testament*. We include the latter work because Dr. Oesterley naturally makes the O.T. the centre of his researches, and relates the facts from Egypt, Greece (here the treatment is inadequate), Rome, and primitive peoples to the data found there. Having explained the origin and purpose of the sacred dance, Dr. Oesterley illustrates its varying use at different seasons and ceremonies. His work has a scholar's competence and modesty, and due recognition of the fact that, dealing with a region still largely unexplored, conclusions must be tentative. Mention ought to be made of the excellent index.

The title of Dr. H. McLachlan's *The Story of a Nonconformist Library* (Longmans, and Manchester Univ. Press, 7s. 6d.) affords no indication of the range and variety of the contents of the book. It consists, in the main, of essays based on books and manuscripts in the Unitarian Home Missionary College Library, Manchester, which is described in the first chapter. Dr. McLachlan's researches into seventeenth-century Unitarian tracts, his accounts of the earliest Unitarian periodical, of Liberal Dissent a century ago, and of the Manchester Socinian Controversy show him to be an industrious and accurate student. The last chapter, "The Christian Brethren Movement," relates the erratic career of Joseph Barker.

Dr. John S. Simon's *John Wesley and the Methodist Societies* (Epworth Press, 18s.) continues the good work begun in *John Wesley and the Religious Societies*, which traced Wesley's course until 1739. The present volume describes in detail the critical years in which the foundations of Methodist organization were laid. It has not, of course, the same vividness as Wesley's *Journal*, but it relates to the *Journal* a mass of facts drawn from other sources. We are indebted to Dr. Simon for a careful and thorough piece of work, reference to which is facilitated by an exhaustive index.

Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke's task in preparing the revised edition of *The Baptist Movement in the Continent of Europe* (Carey Press, 3s. 6d.) must have been extremely difficult, but it was probably less difficult for the

writer than for anyone else, for his intimate knowledge gives him unequalled authority. It may be that some of the pioneers described in this book will one day be held in as great esteem as Henry Barrowe, John Smyth and John Robinson. Dr. Rushbrooke believes that "the survival of Christianity in Russia depends mainly upon the welcome accorded to the Baptist message." A little information about other branches of Nonconformist life in Europe would have been welcome; there are one or two indications that it has been observed, but we should have liked some recognition of the fact that the Kingdom of Heaven is not entirely limited to, or spread by, Baptists.

Dr. H. S. Coffin's *What is there in Religion?* (New York: Macmillan Co., \$1.25) is one of the most illuminating expositions we have read for some time. To one who said, "What is there in religion, anyhow?" the answer was given: "What is there in the Hudson River, anyhow?" Dr. Coffin works out most suggestively the analogy between religion and a river, ten chapters dealing with such subjects as "Refreshment," "Cleansing," "Power," "Fertility."

From the same publishers come *The Thoughts of Youth*, by Dr. S. S. Drury, Rector of St. Paul's School (6s.), and *Religious Foundations*, edited by Rufus M. Jones (\$1.00). The first book contains twenty talks to adolescents which, in spite of their American atmosphere, could be read with profit by all British boys and girls between twelve and twenty. The names of Dr. Jones's collaborators—Dr. W. L. Sperry, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, Professor Elihu Grant, Mr. Clutton-Brock, Dr. L. P. Jacks, and Professor F. G. Peabody—are sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness with which the questions "How shall we think of—God, Christ, Man, Nature, The Bible, Evil, The Life Beyond, etc.?" are handled. If it be not invidious to single out chapters, the sparkling discussion of nature by Dean Sperry—even though he does give a title to Professor J. Arthur Thomson—the able study of social relationships by Mr. Rowntree, and the acute investigation of the problem of evil by Dr. Jacks, strike us as specially helpful. Altogether a book to be read.

In *The Sons of Jacob* (Hodder, 6s.) the Rev. Thomas Tully reprints twelve addresses, character studies of the sons of Jacob, with chapters on "The Lion of Judah" and "The Names on the Gates." The idea is a good one, and it is effectively worked out. Probably no sermons are more appreciated than those dealing with Bible characters, and ministers will find these sketches useful.

Mr. T. Edmund Harvey's *Silence in Worship* (Swarthmore Press, 2s.) traces the Quaker experience of silent worship from the time of the "Seekers" to the present day. It will help to move much misunderstanding about Quaker worship, and will also prove full of suggestion to many non-Friends. There are many interesting quotations, one from Barclay on the value of Psalm-singing being singularly beautiful.

Can Religion be Taught? (Friends' Bookshop, 6d.) is a contribution of the Friends to the problem of religious education. It makes use of the long Quaker experience and also of the recent Congregational Commission on the subject.

Sir G. A. Smith has printed (Hodder, 6d.) an address on *The Teaching of the Old Testament in Schools*, delivered to University tutors and schoolmasters last January. It combines scholarship, fervour, and common sense, and should be read by all keen Sunday School teachers. The premature death of G. B. Gray is described as "one of the greatest losses possible to Old Testament scholarship."

Dr. C. L. Slattery, the Rector of Grace Church, New York, has gathered

together in *Prayers for Private and Family Use* (New York: Macmillan Co., \$1.00) prayers printed on leaflets in his church, which is visited by hundreds of people for private devotion every day.

The Week of Our Lord's Passion (Epworth Press, 2s.) consists of four addresses and two sermons by the Rev. E. T. Carrier. From the same press comes the Rev. G. Beesley Austin's *Beautiful Gates in Life* (3s. 6d.), ten "Studies in the Great Simplicities" for young people, based on familiar legends, stories, and poems.

Do the Dead Live? by Paul Heuzé (John Murray, 5s.), though translated from the French, is a very difficult book to disentangle. *L'Opinion* commissioned M. Heuzé, a member of its staff, to investigate the claims of spiritists in regard to materialization. Here we have a series of articles, with interviews and correspondence intermingled, very French in style and very sceptical in tone. The book will interest those who are *au fait* with recent developments in psychical research, but few others.

Some years ago Mr. F. J. Gould used to be the patron saint of elementary school teachers who had to give lessons in "citizenship," his *Children's Book of Moral Lessons* proving a great stand-by to them as well as a frequent inspirer of children's addresses. In *The Life-Story of a Humanist* (Watts, 4s. 6d.) Mr. Gould describes a pilgrimage in which he starts out as a pious choir-boy, passes through a narrow "evangelical" youth, and finally becomes a "humanist," believing in—but it is not quite clear what Mr. Gould believes in, the closing chapter (on the war) being very mystifying. The best parts of the book are those which describe the author's educational work.

Professor George Saintsbury's *A Letter Book* (G. Bell, 6s.) rapidly and deservedly ran through four impressions when first published. It is a moot point whether it is to be more admired for the learning, sprightliness, and wit of its introduction or for the excellent selection of letters. It is a good bed-side book.

The story of the life of *Cornaby of Hanyang*, by Coulson Kernahan (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.), Wesleyan missionary in China from 1885 to 1919, was well worth telling. With a promising scientific career opening out before him he felt constrained to give his life to missionary work, and he still lives in many whom he influenced and still speaks through his writings. The extracts given from Cornaby's diary make us wish he had been allowed to speak more for himself. The memoir by his widow (formerly Miss Emma Foggitt of the L.M.S.) and the appreciations by Dr. W. T. A. Barber and others help to reveal the man, but when the editor gets to work one feels there is too much Kernahan and too little Cornaby.

Mr. David Chamberlin has told in interesting fashion the story of *Smith of Demerara* (Simpkin Marshall, 1s. and 1s. 6d.), who went out as a L.M.S. missionary to British Guiana in 1817. His labours for and sympathy with the slaves resulted in his arrest in the rising of 1823, and he was sentenced to death for treason, dying in prison. Sir Sydney Olivier contributes a preface.

The L.M.S. has been well advised to print in cheap form these extracts *India Through New Eyes*, by David Walters, 6d.) from the Report of the recent deputation to India. Mr. Walters is held in such esteem in all the Churches that his witness is peculiarly valuable, and here he writes with the vigour and acute observation of one seeing things for the first time and relating them to a wide experience.

Miss Mary Entwistle is an expert in dealing with material for children, and teachers will find her *Children of Other Lands* (National S.S.U., 2s. 6d.) full of suggestion.

In *Coué for Children*, (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.) Miss Gertrude Mayo vividly describes the work of Mlle. Kaufmant, the patient and assistant of M. Coué, who now treats children's cases. M. Coué writes a preface.

Bible Stories for Children, by Blanche Winder (Ward Lock, 1s. 6d. each), contain ten O.T. and twelve N.T. stories, the latter all dealing with Jesus. Each volume has eight coloured plates.

It is extremely difficult to keep pace with the output of novels in our own country, and even more difficult to discern tendencies. Of novelists of other countries, even of the United States, we know comparatively little, though Mr. S. B. P. Mais has recently attempted to lighten our darkness. We therefore welcome Mr. C. E. Bechhofer's *The Literary Renaissance in America* (Heinemann, 6s.). The outstanding features of modern American novels may perhaps be described in the words of two critics quoted by Mr. Bechhofer:

(1) "The most hopeful thing of intellectual promise in America to-day is the contempt of the younger people for their elders."

(2) The reaction from the time when "every third American devotes himself to improving and lifting up his fellow-citizens, usually by force; the messianic delusion is our national disease."

Two American novels are before us. Mr. Upton Sinclair's *They Call Me Carpenter* (T. Werner Laurie, 7s. 6d.) is an attempt to show what would happen "if Christ came to Chicago." A "rich young ruler" finds the figure of Jesus leaves its stained-glass window and accompany him to beauty saloons, swell hotels, Labour headquarters, etc., etc. Much of the Carpenter's teaching is an adaptation of the Gospel to American conditions, and he influences men as in *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*. It would be unfair to tell the end of the story, which, though told with Mr. Sinclair's usual power, is as unsatisfactory as attempts on similar lines have been and must be. So is Dr. T. H. Shastid's *Simon of Cyrene, Dimachaerus Splendens* (Wheldon & Wesley, 16s.), although it contains a great deal of information about the period with which it deals. A modern young person of fifteen, turning its pages and seeing the names of Conatus, Vulgus, and Defectus, asked if the book was a "Pilgrim's Progress stunt." It is, but in parts it reminds one of Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday, of a G. A. Henty story, of a book of N.T. criticism, and of the writings of Mr. C. G. Montefiore. As a novel it does not grip.

We have also received *What is Religion?* by G. P. Ford, M.A. (Soc. of SS. Peter and Paul, 2s.); *Is There A God?* by I. T. Jones (Macmillan 6s.); and *The Way*, by A Priest (Church of England Sunday School Institute).

PERIODICALS

The Holborn Review (July) throws a wide net. The Rev. J. C. Mantripp writes on Dr. Adams Brown's survey of the Church in America, the Rev. E. W. Smith on "The Education of the African," a vigorous protest against the failure to adapt teaching to the needs of the people taught; and Mr. Dudley Wright traces the influence of Islam on Jesuit origins. The Rev. R. W. Callin writes a criticism of Rupert Brook's poetry, Mr. C. Williamson discusses the Victorian age in the light of Mr. Strachey's strictures, and Mr. A. N. Shimmin deals with Adam Smith and Ricardo. Mr. G. K. Dovey's name is attached to a rather slight sketch of Thomas Becon, in which some features fairly common in Elizabethan writers are considered as peculiar to Becon. The Editor deals trenchantly with Dr. W. H. Fitchett, whose incursion into the sphere of Biblical scholarship scarcely deserved so much of Dr. Peake's time and space. "Current Literature," as usual, is in capable hands.

The Hibbert Journal (July) should be read at 10 a.m. rather than 2.30 p.m. or

to p.m. It is full of weighty articles, but makes little concession to the wayfaring man—though he will read with interest Professor Lutoslawski's account of his conversion, Dr. Adams's "Thought and the Letter," and Principal Mackay's indignant reply to Mr. Stanley's indictment of Canadian life. Professor C. D. Broad has a readable paper on "Butler as Theologian"; Sir Oliver Lodge explains what he means by "a potential son of God"; Dr. Carpenter discusses "Early Conceptions of Law in Nature," Professor McFayden "Miracle in the Old Testament," Mr. C. G. Montefiore "Judaism and Europe," and Mr. W. W. Davies "Renan." One who has spent much time examining Elizabethan episcopal records turned first to Mr. Alexander's "Bishops' Courts under Elizabeth," to be grievously disappointed. Mr. Alexander seems to have little first-hand acquaintance with the documents; he relies mainly on Strype and speaks of "a Puritan named Penry." Professor Moffatt's "Survey of Theological Literature" and the reviews are well done as usual. Probably many teachers would dispute Dr. Whitehead's dictum that "the secret of success is pace."

The Pilgrim (July) contains a very useful summary by the Editor of Christianity's teaching about marriage. Dr. H. T. Hodgkin continues his discussion of World Reconstruction; the Rev. F. G. Chevassut writes on "The Psychology of Religion," and the Rev. R. Langford-James on "The Claim of the Contemplative Life." There is an article on the intricate question of Credit Power by Mr. R. G. Hawtrey, and one on Reunion by the Rev. S. H. Clark, in which he suggests that Dr. Selbie might call another Mansfield Conference. There are two Congregational contributors, Dr. Garvie writing on "A German Professor and Public Life" (a summary of Leonard Nelson's pamphlets) and the Rev. E. Shillito on "The Modernity of Pascal."

The London Quarterly (July) opens with an article by Dr. W. T. Davidson discussing books about "a new era." Mediæval books are dealt with by Dr. H. B. Workman, and the Editor writes on Mr. A. G. Gardiner's *Life of Sir William Harcourt*. Among other features are Rev. G. S. Carter's "Prayer-Book Revision," Mr. B. St. Cleather's "A Story of Tintagel—1384," Mr. G. Thomas's "Tennyson and the Georgians," and a very interesting study of the attitude of Wesley and his followers to the Lord's Supper. There are some useful notes and thirty pages of reviews.

The Baptist Quarterly (July), after a statement on the Stockholm Congress by the Rev. W. Y. Fullerton, contains articles by two contributors who have lately passed away, Dr. Witton Davies writing on "Dillmann" and the Rev. W. J. Avery on "The Late Midland College." The articles of most general interest are Dr. Petrick's revealing and painful "A Baptist Doctor with the Prussian Army," and "As Others See Us," a survey of the views commonly held about Baptism by non-Baptist Free Churchmen. The Rev. A. J. Payne prints matter culled from the Minutes of the Baptist Board, and the Rev. S. Pearce Carey indicates some features of his forthcoming *Life of William Carey*.

The Modern Churchman (June, July).—The June number is largely occupied with the subject of Prayer-Book Revision, although there is an appreciation of Dr. Skrine and a suggestive article on "Christian Unity, National and International," by the Dean of Worcester. The main articles in the July number are Miss Petre's "Religious Authority," the Rev. W. F. Howard's "The New Testament and Modern Criticism," and the Rev. R. V. G. Tasker's "Sin and the Modern Mind." The Editor's "Signs of the Times" are valuable, and the reviews are well done.

The Church Quarterly Review (July) has for its longest article a B.Litt thesis by the Rev. C. Canellopulos, a student of the University of Athens, who, after three years in England, writes on "Christian Reunion from the Point of View of the Eastern Orthodox Church." Dr. W. H. Rigg discusses Dr. Garvie's view of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel; Mr. Howard Coombs prints some extracts from the diary of a Somerset incumbent a century ago; the Rev. R. Hanson writes on "Pascal," Miss Sandbach-Marshall on "Religious Belief as derived from Experience," and Miss Leigh on "Links between Dante and Duns Scotus." The long reviews are by Dr. Leipoldt of Leipzig and Dr. Nairne.

The Interpreter (July).—An excellent number. The Rev. L. Hodgson discusses "Experience, Religious and Christian"; Canon Bindley writes on "Canon and Apocrypha," and Miss Dougall on "Faith and the World's Future." The Rev. G. W. Broomfield of Zanzibar suggests that the worship of Yahweh grew out of the worship of the Babylonian Moon God, Dr. G. W. Wade that "the sea is no more" because it was considered to be an element hostile to God, and Professor W. E. Wilson that "made sin for us" means "put into the environment of sin." Dr. J. P. Naish contributes an article on "The Semitic Background of the Gospels."

Expository Times (June-Aug.)—A valuable feature of these issues is "Recent Foreign Theology," by Drs. J. G. Tasker, H. A. A. Kennedy, and D. S. Margoliouth. Theology, criticism, psychology, and exegesis are all represented. Among Congregational contributors are Dr. Garvie ("God's Purpose as Revealed in Jesus Christ"), the Rev. A. D. Belden ("The Reticence of God") and—if we are now justified in claiming him—Dr. J. A. Hutton, whose exposition of Ps. 73 under the title of "The Breaking Point" was, we believe, directly instrumental in saving an American hearer from suicide.

The Friends' Quarterly Examiner opens with an article on "Silent Worship," part of Rudolf Otto's *Das Heilige*, a translation of which is now in the press. Addresses by Dr. Yellowlees ("Health of Mind") and Lady Pease ("Ideals in Education") are printed, and there are three very interesting appreciations of John Theodore Merz by Miss King, of Leonard Doncaster by Mr. E. E. Unwin, and of Edward Woolven, a working-man Friend, by Mr. A. J. Crosfield. Miss Effie Ryle describes an experiment in Women's Education. There is a translation of an informing article (by Mr. Heinrich Becker) on "The Youth Movement in Germany," and Mr. H. W. Peet surveys "The Present Opium Position."

The International Review of Missions (July) has for its outstanding articles Dr. Garfield Williams's "Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years (India)," Dr. C. Y. Cheng's "The Development of an Indigenous Church in China," and Mr. Basil Mathews' suggestive "Missions and the Press." Among other articles are "Rural Education in India" (Rev. W. J. McKee), "The Training of Village Workers" (Bishop of Dornakal); "Polygamy in West Africa" (Bishop of Lagos), and "The Missionary Task in Kenya" (Rev. J. Britton). Reviews and bibliography.

World Dominion (June).—A useful and a live magazine. Mr. A. E. Jennings writes on Khama, "An Eye-Witness" on "The Tragedy of the Near East," Dr. Cochrane on "Problems of the Pacific," and "O. W." an informing article on "The Real France."

The Yale Review (July) is, as usual, full of interest. Mr. Hugh Walpole writes on Francis Marion Crawford and Mr. Robert Herrick on Henry James. Mario Puccini, the novelist, writes on "Young Italy," and Sir Robert Borden on "The British Commonwealth of Nations." President MacCracken discusses "Democracy and College Government," Professor W. L. Bragg "The New World of the Atom," and Mr. C. R. Noyes "The Weather Chart of Population." Mr. T. R. Lounsbury has a caustic estimate of William Prynne. Mrs. Letts a fascinating study of Child Religion, and Miss Tennyson Jesse a descriptive article. Among the verse contributors is the Poet Laureate.

The Review and Expositor (Baptist, Louisville, Kentucky. July) has several British contributors. The Rev. F. C. Spurr writes on "The Church's Power to Forgive Sins," and the Rev. J. R. Ackroyd on "The Person of Jesus in Relation to Social Problems." Among other articles are Professor W. W. Barnes's "A Baptist World Consciousness," Dr. J. E. Welsh's "Some Modern Challenges to the Truly Educated," and the Rev. C. W. Cline's "Some Baptist Systematic Theologians." There are forty pages of book reviews.

[All books and periodicals reviewed in this Journal can be obtained from the Book-room of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.4.]

